

IN THESE TIMES

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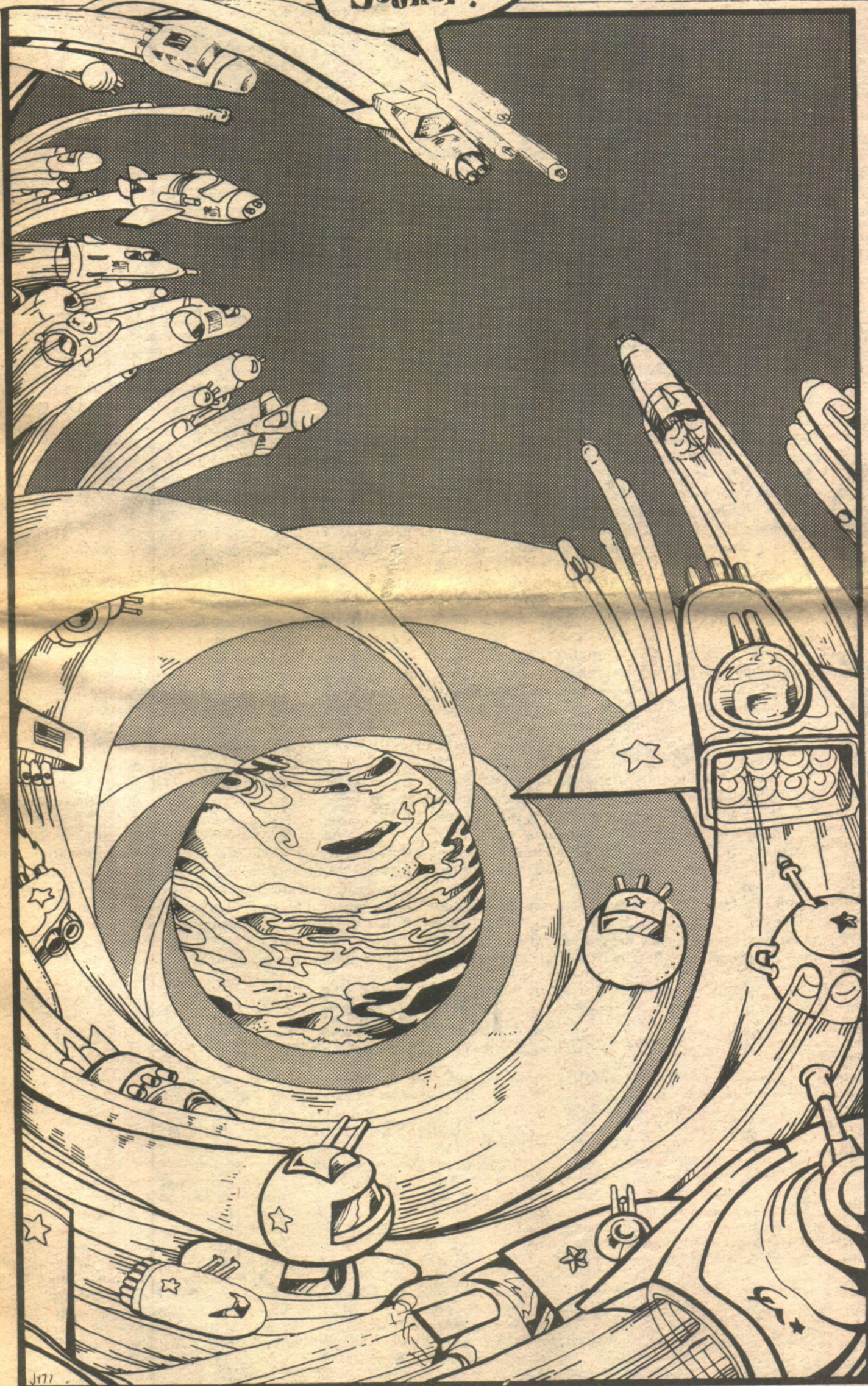


Why—
didn't We
think of this
Sooner?

Vol. 1, No. 48

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SPACE WARS

& Other Defense
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Language of black America

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"Space is a dandy arena, actually," said a
Defense department scientist. "The notion of
abhorring war in space is just plain wrong." Page 6.

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Federal Reserve chief Arthur Burns.

The cruel, primitive and the unpalatable

The great postwar economic expansion came to a halt in the early '70s. In a process reminiscent of the 1890s and 1930s, economists, businessmen, and legislators are very slowly awakening to its consequences.

As they sit rubbing their eyes, several propositions loom on the horizon:

- While the American economy may still go through ups and downs, the ups as well as the downs are occurring within an overall situation of high unemployment, inflation, and flagging private investment. In this situation, "recoveries" like the present one become mild recessions.

- The postwar palliatives for recessions—tax breaks, adjustment of the monetary supply, and increased public spending—don't work. The usual cures for unemployment worsen inflation and in the long run don't help unemployment either. The cures for inflation do likewise.

Business' first response to the new recession was to sacrifice employment for curbing inflation. Increased unemployment, it was hoped, would eliminate the upward pressure on wages and prices and increase corporation's expected rate of return. They would then begin investing again. The 1974 strategy of Gerald Ford and Federal Reserve head Arthur Burns seems to have been along these lines. In the midst of growing unemployment, they cut federal spending and restricted the money supply in order to curb inflation, plunging the country into its worst recession since the '30s.

But four years later inflation and unemployment are still high and private investment continues to stagnate. Policymakers are realizing that the present stagflation might not only be worse, but could also bring political instability in its wake.

The dawning awareness of the need for an alternative to the Burns/Ford strategy was apparent in the *Midyear Review of the Economy* released recently by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress.

Goals unrealizable.

The Joint Economic Committee was founded as part of the 1946 Employment Act. The Act was designed to head off the Murray full employment bill by committing the government in words but not in deeds to full employ-

ment. The JEC was merely to assess the government's progress toward creating full employment.

While it was a vociferous opponent of Ford's policies, it has also taken the field against Jimmy Carter. In August, the JEC published a pamphlet on the administration's "Macroeconomic Goals for 1981" in which it argues that the President's 1981 goals of 4.75 percent unemployment, 4.3 percent inflation, and a balanced budget were patently unrealizable within the present framework of government policy.

The *Midyear Review* continues the assault on Carter's budget outlook, which it terms "overly optimistic." The JEC characterizes the present recovery as "halting." The present unemployment rate, it remarks, is higher than that in 1958, the peak of the worst postwar recession before the '70s. Private investment is way behind the pattern of previous recoveries.

With present policies, the JEC sees 6.5 percent unemployment as possible by the year's end, but "little improvement" after that. If Arthur Burns and the Federal Reserve are allowed to continue their tight money policies, the JEC even sees the "distinct possibility" of "growth recession" in which growth remains positive but unemployment rises.

The tradeoff.

According to the JEC's *Midyear Review*, the special problem of today's economy is the combination of unemployment and inflation. "Conventional" economics holds that there is an inescapable "tradeoff" between the two.

Expansionary policies put upward pressure on prices both by increasing total demand in the economy and by tightening the labor market (as unemployment shrinks) and driving up wages. Anti-inflationary policies cause unemployment as demand and investment fall in the face of public spending cuts and higher interest rates on loans.

Policymakers who have seen reducing inflation as essential to any recovery have therefore been provided with a "powerful motivation to suspend the Employment Act in favor of restrictive economic policies that slow economic growth and increase unemployment."

Burns is the JEC's special villain. The report points out that even since 1974 the real money supply has been curtailed by the Federal Reserve Board. The effect of holding back the money supply is to create a lender's market in which interest rates on commercial loans remain high. This discourages private investment and economic growth and holds down employment.

This summer, the report notes, the Federal Reserve raised the rediscount rate from 5.25 to 5.75 percent. The rediscount rate is the interest banks have to pay when they borrow money from the Federal Reserve; raising it again tends to keep interest rates on bank loans high.

But the report also faults Carter for following fiscal policies that fall within the "conventional" tradeoff. The report describes Carter's withdrawal last spring of the proposal for a \$50 tax rebate as "shortsighted" and his 1978 budget as "unadventurous."

Finding an alternative.

The JEC rejects the anti-inflationary strategy of both the Federal Reserve and the Carter administration: "To make willing, but marginal, workers the principle victims of what amounts to a national disease is cruel and primitive. The 'side-effects' of inflation control by means of fiscal-monetary restriction are too enormous to be tolerated."

But that leaves the JEC either to accept inflation as a fact of life or to find ways to control it that do not place the "entire burden on production and employment." Accepting inflation is not an alternative: a

high rate of inflation discourages longterm investments, threatens the competitiveness of American exports, and in the process ends up increasing unemployment.

In their *Midyear Review*, the JEC proposes two principal means for fighting inflation without increasing unemployment. They are both based on what the JEC sees as "the fundamental problem of employment expansion: lower real wages are needed to induce employers to increase the quantity of labor they are willing to hire, whereas higher real wages are desired by workers."

- The JEC would have payroll taxes for social security and unemployment insurance come out of the general fund of income and corporate taxes rather than payrolls. With both of these taxes removed from the employer's wage costs, an immediate upward pressure on prices will be eliminated.

- The JEC would give tax incentives to firms that kept their wage and price increases within a set percentage.

The proposal for wage-price incentives is the more controversial and significant. While the JEC insists that it is not proposing anything so "awkward and unpalatable" as wage-price controls, the tax-incentive scheme seems to be a backdoor way of doing this. Government would still have to bargain with business and labor over an acceptable wage and price.

To ensure that its measures were carried through, the JEC proposes that the independent Federal Reserve Board be required to work out with the federal administration common goals and a common strategy for achieving them. Otherwise, reasons the JEC, any attempt by the federal government to enact a new economic strategy could be undercut by a recalcitrant Federal Reserve.

Debate over planning.

The JEC's proposals would require a new level of economic planning within the federal government. They amount to a sacrifice of freedom by both capital and labor in the interest of capitalism's longterm survival.

Based on its experience with Nixon wage-price controls, the labor movement opposes them. Labor believes wages are much easier to control than prices and that labor would therefore be the loser. But some parts of the labor movement support the principle of planning as a means of involving labor and consumers in economic decisions from which they are presently excluded. In addition, labor universally supports eliminating the Federal Reserve's independence.

"Business and financial leaders are predominantly opposed to wage-price controls and planning, seeing in them a threat to both their profits and their prerogatives. But a minority that includes financier Robert V. Roosa and Atlantic Richfield head Thornton Bradshaw see corporate-oriented planning as a longterm necessity.

Carter has always been suspected of favoring wage-price controls. But the opposition has been so fierce and vocal that it is doubtful whether Carter or the JEC will get their wish in the near future. The *Wall Street Journal* called the *Midyear Review* "a new low." *Business Week* termed it "economic moonshine." Council of Wage and Price Stability head Barry Bosworth reportedly met a storm of protest last month when he suggested the possibility of "voluntary wage-price standards."

But as one Carter administration official admitted to the *New York Times*, the administration finds itself between "a rock and a hard place" on the issue. If it accedes to pressure, it risks a growing revolt later as unemployment and inflation remain out of control. If it tries to institute controls now it faces an immediate revolt.

Such are the contradictions of present day capitalism.

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What to do with nuclear waste?

By Dan Marshall

In the spirit of a true evangelist President Carter has promised to deliver the nuclear industry and the electric utilities from one of their most stubborn problems: the storage and ultimate disposal of radioactive nuclear wastes. In the process the U.S. may become the world's biggest dump for nuclear garbage.

His initiative is an inadequate response, critics say, to the growing crisis in waste disposal and a string of revelations about lackadaisical government efforts.

The administration's Energy department proposed Oct. 18 that the U.S. acquire and store the spent nuclear fuel that is rapidly piling up at the nation's utilities.

At the end of 1977 the country's 66 operating nuclear power plants will have 3,400 metric tons of spent fuel on hand. These commercial wastes increase by 1,000 tons per year and threaten to overwhelm existing facilities, leading to plant shutdowns by 1979.

Carter's voluntary program would have reactor operators pay the federal government a one-time fee to take responsibility for the wastes, now in the form of fuel rods stored in huge pools of water. It also offers to store the wastes of foreign countries that agree not to reprocess plutonium from the used fuel. Plutonium, which can be used as a fuel in breeder reactors, is also a crucial ingredient for atomic weapons.

Certain to be controversial.

Carter's program is certain to be controversial, since critics charge that it essentially bails out the nuclear industry from a major economic headache without addressing the long-term problem of how to permanently dispose of wastes, some of which take 250,000 years to decay to harmless radiation levels.

The Atomic Industrial Forum, an industry group, hailed the program as "a welcome step for industry" that would "avert a possible shortage of fuel storage capacity."

Environmentalists, on the other hand, dismissed it as an ineffective cop-out. "It transfers spent fuel from one owner that is financially incompetent to one that is institutionally incompetent," said Thomas Cochran of the National Resources Defense Council.

Carter had to do something. The problem of nuclear waste disposal has been around for many years, always lurking in the background of atomic bomb tests, the use of nuclear-powered submarines and the construction of nuclear plants to generate electricity.

There was plenty of time to solve this basically technological task, nuclear engineers figured, because the wastes from commercial reactors was relatively small and would not approach the volume already accumulated from military programs until the turn of the century.

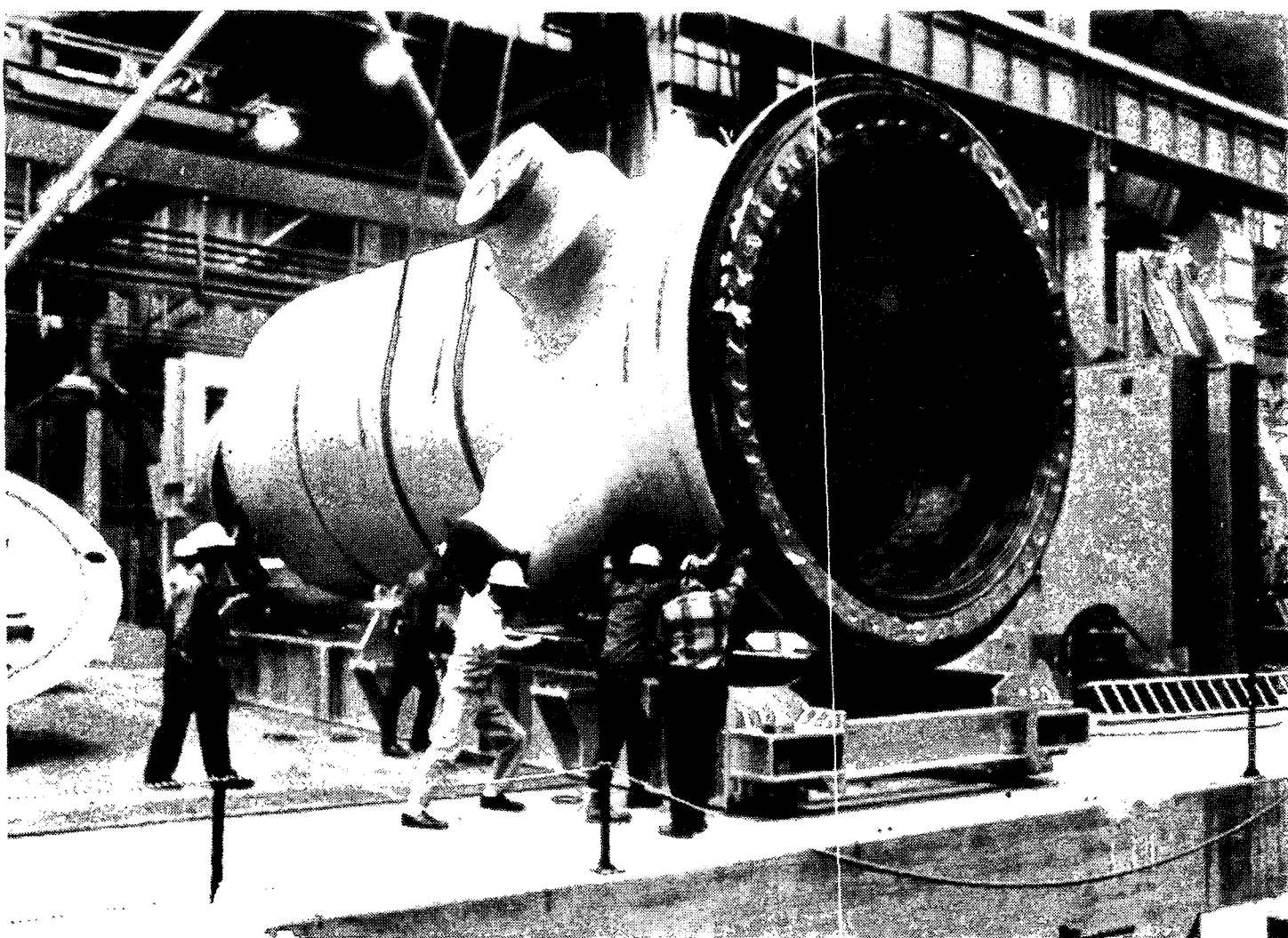
Time appears to be running out, however. Even some voices in an otherwise pro-nuclear power Carter administration are protesting government inaction on the waste question.

Environmental council acts.

In a bold move last month, for instance, a small but influential federal agency, the Council on Environmental Quality, revealed that it would recommend that the government stop licensing nuclear plants unless acceptable methods are found for the disposal of wastes. (The council had earlier come close to being disbanded in Carter's "reorganization" drive.)

"We favor a national decision which would make the expanded use of nuclear power contingent on a clear and convincing showing...that nuclear power's deadly byproducts can be safely contained for geologic periods," council member Gus Speth declared at a Washington convention of the American Bar Association.

Although the council has only advisory power in the White House, their proposal is the first time government officials have



Ken Firestone

Unless something is done to solve the nuclear waste problem the entire nuclear power program may well have to be shelved. Above, manufacture of a nuclear core container.

Some nuclear wastes take 250,000 years to become harmless. Carter wants the government to take over the problem of storing them.

tried to couple the licensing of nuclear plants to the safe storage of wastes.

Their recommendation was indirectly buttressed when two Republican congressmen, attacking the "credibility of the institutions running nuclear power facilities right now," introduced legislation to set up an independent Nuclear Waste Management Authority in the executive branch that would have "sole responsibility for planning and managing the transportation, storage and disposal of nuclear wastes."

Sen. Charles Mathias Jr. (R-Md) and Rep. James Jeffords (R-Vt) accused existing government organizations of being concerned mainly with producing more nuclear material, rather than disposing of it afterwards. "The time has come when we simply cannot continue to license more and more nuclear plants without finding an effective solution to the waste problem," Jeffords said at an Oct. 10 press conference.

More military wastes.

The controversy primarily surrounds "back-end" wastes, those radioactive by-products of the process where uranium is used in conventional reactors to produce the intense heat necessary to generate electricity. Most of the existing wastes, however, have been produced by the country's weapons programs. About 74 million gallons of high-level military wastes are now stored at three government facilities.

While the quantity of commercial wastes—the used fuel rods—is considerably less, their level of radioactivity is comparable. The total inventory of wastes is expected to double by the early 1980s. "By 1985 nuclear power plants could be generating every three years an amount of radioactivity equal to the current inventory," wrote Speth in a recent letter to the *New York Times*.

In years past it was assumed that these commercial wastes were destined for reprocessing plants, where unused uranium would be extracted along with plutonium. Carter substantially blocked this option last April, however, when he indefinitely

deferred the reprocessing of plutonium in an attempt to halt the worldwide proliferation of nuclear weapon technology.

So what happens to the spent fuel rods? They are steadily filling the utilities' storage pools, to the point where utilities are petitioning the government for permission to build additional facilities.

The problem is so severe, according to a recent report by the Energy Research and Development Administration (now integrated into the Energy department), that 23 nuclear plants will be forced to shut down beginning in 1979 unless action is taken.

Carter's program is thus a short-term solution to a problem his earlier policy helped to create. It does nothing to confront the main dilemma of waste management: how to get rid of radioactive material so that it won't contaminate human or animal life for literally hundreds of thousands of years.

Bury the wastes?

The most widely-held answer is that the wastes be incorporated into a Pyrex-like glass substance, sealed inside steel canisters, and dropped into geologic formations deep within the earth. Other more exotic methods have also been suggested. These include blasting the wastes into the sun—an idea that has been largely abandoned because a spaceship crammed with nuclear garbage would shower the earth with cancer-causing particles if it exploded—and dumping them into the sea to be swallowed up by sediments on the ocean floor.

ERDA's waste disposal plan, unveiled last December, is designed to find "stable geologic formations" by sending geologists throughout the continental U.S. The agency hopes to operate several disposal sites by the mid-1980s and has targeted 13 states. There will be some 330,000 cubic feet of commercial wastes by the year 2000 if, as ERDA predicts, 500 nuclear plants come on line.

ERDA has run into a series of roadblocks, however. Critics note that the technology for maintaining wastes is not

yet tested and that scientists do not fully understand the effects of thermal radiation on rock formations over long periods of time. (There have already been numerous instances of waste leakage at current storage facilities.) If wastes are stored in a corrosive substance like salt, for example, they could escape as soon as three months after burial. Scientists also point out that no one can guarantee that these formations will remain stable for hundreds of thousands of years.

Citizen opposition.

In addition the residents of some states have voiced strong objections to serving as the location for nuclear burial sites. Political officials in Michigan and Louisiana, both considered possible candidates for geologic repositories, have made it clear that wastes are unwelcome. The legislators of South Dakota and Vermont have passed laws telling the ERDA to stay away. And influential senators in New Hampshire and Indiana have expressed opposition to waste dumping there.

The most likely sites are New Mexico, Nevada and Washington, where residents have lived near radioactive materials for years and where environmental or anti-nuclear organizations are fairly weak.

Many scientists believe that the technological methods for disposing waste can eventually be developed. But critics charge that the government has not fully considered the safety and political factors involved.

"After several decades of work," the General Accounting Office reported last month, neither ERDA nor its predecessor, the Atomic Energy Commission, has demonstrated "acceptable solutions for long-term storage and/or disposal" of nuclear wastes, or even "satisfied the scientific community that present storage sites are geologically suited for long-term storage or disposal."

Because of governmental failure in this area, many environmentalists believe that the further expansion of nuclear power to generate electricity should hinge on solving the waste problem.

ENERGY

Congress scuttles utility reform

WASHINGTON—Immediately after deregulating the price of natural gas in mid-October, the U.S. Senate killed the most valuable reform measure in the President's energy package. The measure, which was part of the energy bill Carter submitted to Congress in April, promised to stabilize electric rates and promote a much more efficient use of existing electrical capacity.

The administration's utility provisions fared somewhat better in the House of Representatives, where the Energy and Power subcommittee under the chairmanship of John Dingell of Michigan carried forward its long commitment to rate reform and actually strengthened the section.

The full House, however, weakened the subcommittee's bill when it adopted amendments pushed by utility industry lobbyists.

In the Senate the bill never had a chance.

After the House action in August, nearly a month elapsed before the Senate Energy committee took up consideration of the utility section as a separate piece of legislation. The utilities used the time to good advantage.

In what is an increasingly common form of "grassroots" lobbying, large utility companies sent out mass mailings instructing shareholders to write to Senators on the Energy committee. The utilities told their shareholders that profits would fall and rates might go up if the legislation passed. But the utilities suggested that something quite different be emphasized in letters to Senators: the proposed reforms might lead to more "red tape" and unwarranted federal intervention into ratemaking, so the entire section should be dropped.

By the time the reluctant members of the Senate Energy committee gathered early in September to consider the particulars of the utility rate section, the only question was whether they would scrap the whole measure or report out a placebo.

The committee rejected the President's bill, and adopted in its place a brief bill that merely authorized the Secretary of the Department of Energy to appear before the state utility commissions in order to argue in favor of the rate structure changes the original bill had made mandatory.

The committee members even denied the federal participant the right of appeal—a right the government already possessed in similar situations.

Rates have normally been designed by the utility companies, with state public service commissions attempting to control increase. In the past three or four years, as monthly electric bills have soared and utilities' request for rate increases have continued, public service commissions and the public have begun to look more closely at how rate structure influences the demand for power, and therefore the need for expansion and higher rates.

A prime target for the critics has been the problem of "peak" demand. Since utilities in the U.S. work at an average of only half their total capacity, the existence of peak demand is what requires expansion. At peak periods the generating facility may be putting out 100 percent of its capacity and any new demand at the peak period will require the addition of new capacity—sometimes entire new plants.

Changes in the rate structure could spread out use, so that new demand could be met by using idle capacity rather than by building new plants. But the major utilities make more money the more they expand, so they have hotly opposed such changes.

The administration estimated that \$13 billion would be saved by reducing the need for new construction.

The Carter plan proposed to give residential electricity users the choice of cheaper rates for electricity consumed during "off peak" periods, when de-

mand is low. It addressed the question of "declining block" rates, which offer commercial users a discount as their consumption reaches higher and higher volumes. It would have ended the right of utilities to pass fuel cost increases directly on to consumers. These amounted to more than \$9.6 billion in 1976.

Carter's bill would also have required electric utilities to interconnect facilities, to transmit power from plants with idle capacity to others with unmet demand, and to create power pools. The major utilities have refused to allow such arrangements, even though efficient distribution of available power is impossible in their absence.

At present, bulk power suppliers may charge competitors unequal prices, or refuse to sell them power altogether, should they desire to capture the smaller system's customers for themselves.

The Senate did adopt a very narrow interconnection provision when the committee bill came before it on Oct. 5, but it rejected numerous other amendments that would have restored some of the original reforms.

One amendment by Tennessee Senator Jim Sasser would have required utilities to "wheel" power—transfer it over the utility's facilities—where necessary. During the debate over Sasser's amendment, Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis) pointed out, "The fact of the matter is that the large electric utility companies simply do not want the competition from the small cooperatives and municipally owned electric utilities."

To show the importance of wheeling, Nelson cited a 1973 case in which four small towns took a big private utility company to court and won. The utility had refused to wheel any energy the towns might

buy from other suppliers. The court found that the utility was trying to regain its monopoly in the four towns—which had voted previously to get rid of the utility and had set up municipal systems to shop for electricity themselves.

Throughout the rest of October, the House and the Senate will be meeting to conform the language of the several energy bills.

In the case of electric rates, as with the natural gas and energy tax provisions, there are major differences between the bills passed by the two bodies. The House in each instance has the stronger version, but in this pairing of apples and oranges the result, when the Congress completes its work in late October or early November, may be a very strange fruit indeed.

Nellie Scott follows energy developments for IN THESE TIMES.



Stef Leinwohl

Organizing the grassroots

By Judy MacLean
The National Association of Neighborhoods' sixth annual national meeting in Chicago Oct. 14-16 showed that the loose coalition is growing, spreading out across the country, but faces some decisions about its future role.

Held in Lakeview, a Chicago neighborhood billed by some residents as "the most organized neighborhood in the most organized city in the country," and hosted by the 44th Ward Assembly, the conference was an organizing feat in itself.

Appropriately enough, it all happened on a neighborhood level. Some 300 out of town delegates were housed in homes there and shuttled to various neighborhood institutions for workshops and meetings. Homecooked meals were served by volunteers. Four separate tours of Lakeview were offered, including one on women's issues in the neighborhood.

Sam Brown, director of ACTION, set the keynote with a speech stressing the importance of the federal government developing an urban policy that will fund neighborhood organizations for program and service delivery. The way to save cities, he said, is through neighborhoods themselves taking control, rather than through the private developers who ran the massive urban renewal programs of the '60s.

Another highlight was the announcement of the Neighborhood Census Information Program. NAN has worked

for an opening of census data to neighborhood groups that will now be provided by the U.S. Census Bureau.

"You can tell there are a lot of grassroots people here," said one delegate. "In my workshop, many people said they felt intimidated about speaking to a large group, though they went on to do it with encouragement." She estimated that a third of the people present were professional organizers, a third experts and administrators, and a third neighborhood activists. Most were white, though there were some black and Latino delegates and workshop leaders.

In a workshop on "Community Organization As a Basis for Social Change," NAN member Ed Schwartz counterposed his approach to that of community organizing in the tradition of Saul Alinsky. "If you just organize around issues people in the neighborhood are concerned with, you'll end up with a racist organization in many white neighborhoods," he said. Schwartz stressed that values such as commitment to justice must be part of community organizing.

But workshops were not all that was on the agenda. Task forces met mapping out plans for neighborhood input into the federal policy on issues such as energy, health, transportation and crime control. Some NAN members, however, worried that the task forces lobbying efforts are too divorced from the life of the neighborhood affiliates.

"NAN is suffering from growing pains; it needs to decide which way it is going to go. Can it make the task forces really reflect the concerns of the neighborhood groups?" asked Gayla Winston of the 44th Ward Assembly.

Bill Bastuk, of NAN's staff, conceded the group had not yet worked out a mechanism for affecting national neighborhood policy.

In plenary session, the organization resolved to:

- Set up a panel to monitor the Law Enforcement Assistance Agency's Community Anti-Crime Program.
- Hold a meeting with the U.S. Census Bureau to work out details of the neighborhood information program.
- Survey its membership to analyze relationships between neighborhood groups and labor.
- Educate member organizations about the new regulations for Housing and Community Development Block Grants.
- Work to raise the stipends for VISTA volunteers, a vital part of many neighborhood organizations' staffs. "At present, stipends are so low, only young people whose parents can afford to give them additional support can participate," says NAN staffer Bill Bastuk. "We want to see youth from all income levels in VISTA."

Judy MacLean is the organizational secretary of the New American Movement.

LABOR

Strike and boycott against right-wing as well as Coors

By Dan Marshall
"America's Fine Light Beer—brewed with Pure Rocky Mountain Spring Water." That's how the Adolph Coors Co., headquartered in Golden, Colo., touts their world-famous product, the beer that connoisseurs like Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger had flown to Washington, D.C., by the plane load.

Just to make sure that people got the point, Coors used to put a picture of a real Rocky Mountain on its label. "Everyone is familiar with the Coors bottle that has a picture of 'Castle Rock' on it," says Fred Criswell, a member of Brewery Workers local 366 in Golden. "Coors owns that mountain. And nothing can take place inside Golden without the authorization of the Coors family. During the 1920s and the height of the Ku Klux Klan, once a week the Klan would meet in Golden on that mountain."

This is a relatively mild example, says Criswell, of the connections between right-wing organizations and the Coors company, now run by Bill and Joe Coors. He should know. During a four-month stint in Coors Management, Criswell was approached several times by fellow employees who "strongly suggested" that it would be in his best interests to become "extremely active" in the Republican party and attend the functions of some rightwing organizations. "It was even

suggested that I become active in a certain part of the bowling club because those people were moving in a certain direction," he explained in a recent interview with IN THESE TIMES.

Friendly facade.

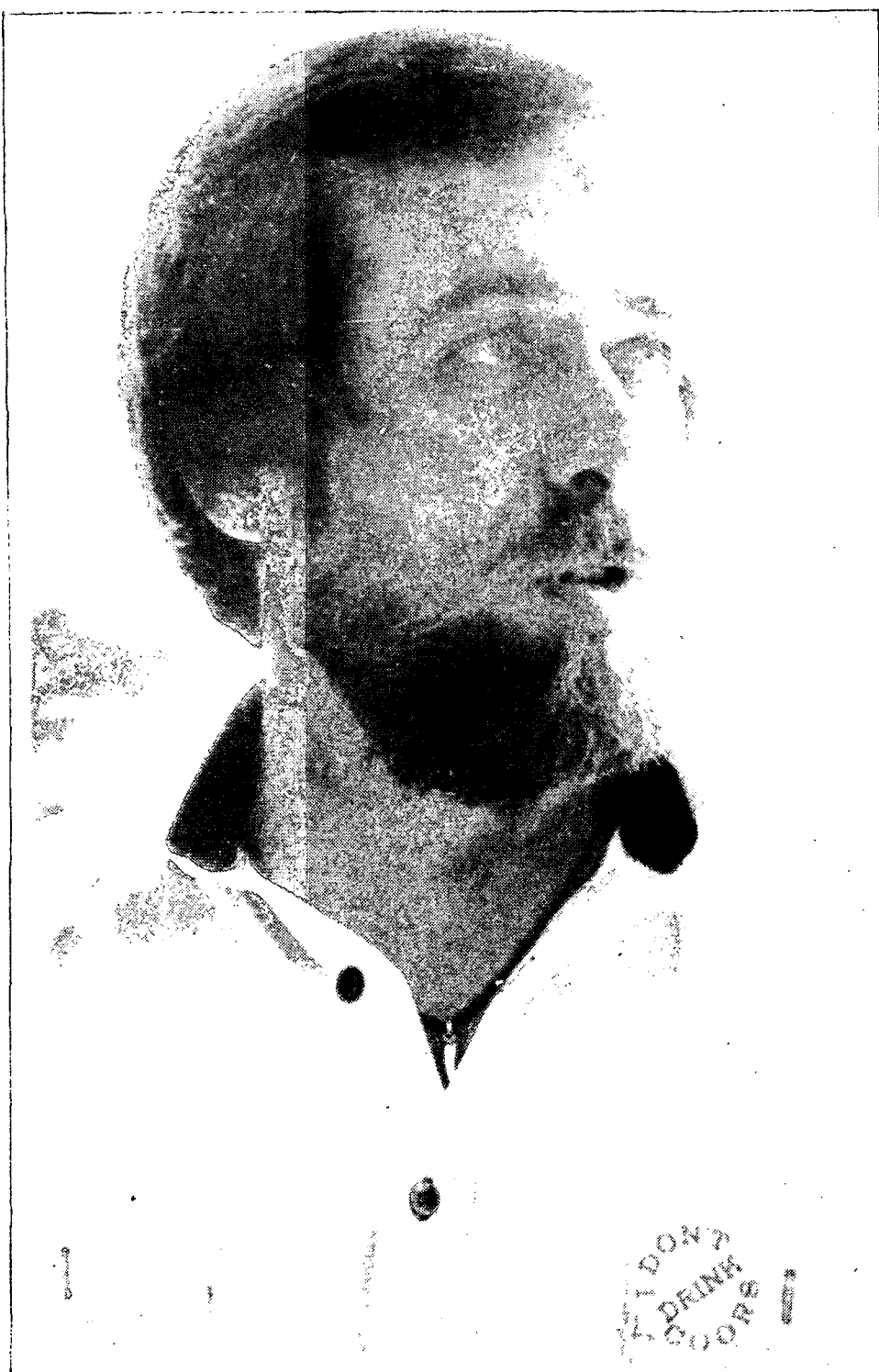
That was in the latter half of 1976, months before April 5 when about 1,400 brewery workers struck Coors in protest of a company-imposed contract that included cuts in seniority, violations of workers' human rights, and various harassment tactics.

By that time Criswell was back working as a production employee, having been thoroughly disillusioned with the inner workings of the company. Now Fred Criswell is one of several rank and file organizers for a nationwide boycott of Coors beer, an action endorsed by the AFL-CIO.

"I was originally very impressed with Bill Coors, and believed that he was concerned about his people. This was the first year I was there. Both Bill and Joe walk around the plant in work shoes and work pants and older, casual dress shirts. They seemed to have a rapport with their people," he recalls.

"But it's really a facade. He says that we're a bunch of monkeys and that if we want to compete with him why don't we go out and get our own brewery."

Continued on page 20.



Fred Criswell, rank and file organizer for the Coors boycott.

Jane Melnick

Coors strike in trouble

By Timothy Lange
GOLDEN, COLO.—On the wall behind the dais at the Coors brewery union hall are the black-draped photographs of three dead strikers. Two died of heart attacks and the third in a mining accident at a job he took after the brewery workers struck on April 5th. In the minds of the remaining strikers there is no doubt about who killed these men. It was Joe and Bill Coors, the arch-conservative brothers who run their late grandfather Adolph's 104-year-old brewery as if it were a medieval fief.

The three martyrs are the most extreme manifestation of the pain the workers have suffered since the strike and boycott against Coors began. Rather than face financial ruin by trying to live on the \$25-a-week strike benefits, many workers had to find other jobs, usually at half or less the pay they earned in the brewery. Unable to meet mortgage payments, some have lost their homes. Friendships have dissolved when once-striking workers left their compatriots on the picketlines and returned to the plant.

Although 92 percent of the 1,400 brewers voted last spring to strike, 900 are now back in the brewery together with 500 scabs Coors hired within weeks of the walkout.

Reliance on NLRB.

Until early October union leadership had relied on the National Labor Relations Board to rule in their favor and force Coors to end the strike. On Oct. 6 that hope was smashed when an administrative law judge of the NLRB ruled that Coors had not violated the law as the union had charged.

The union had charged, among other things, that Coors had misrepresented proposed contract language in a letter the company mailed to brewery workers. The NLRB judge said Coors had, in fact, misled the workers, but had not broken

the law. An appeal is planned, but the strikers who expected the NLRB to solve their problems are thoroughly demoralized.

The reliance of union leadership on the NLRB and a nationwide boycott of Coors has drawn criticism from some union members. One active rank and filer, who admitted that his views were accepted by only about 20 percent of the union's members, said, "The leadership is rotten. They've got everybody confused. Hardly anyone is working on the strike because they are not encouraging them to."

Most active strikers, however, had nothing but praise for their leaders. Told of some of the criticisms, another veteran Coors worker said, "It's just the gripers. They need somebody to blame because the strike is taking so long. If they were leaders, things wouldn't be any different."

Nonetheless, it is clear that the strike part of the union's strike and boycott strategy is in trouble. Although 500 strikers are still out, only 100 or so regularly attend the weekly union meetings and many fewer show up for picketline duty. Home contacts with less active strikers and their families were long ago abandoned, allowing the majority of members to drift away and become strikers in name only.

Sales down.

The boycott's effectiveness so far is more difficult to judge. Sales of Coors have fallen, especially in the company's two biggest markets—California and Texas—where active rank and filers have driven thousands of miles to spread the word. Even brewery officials admit "some" loss because of the boycott.

As with just about everything the company does, Coors has tended to stick to 19th century marketing techniques. Per barrel of beer sold, the company spent less than half as much on advertising in 1976 as the smallest of its 13 closest rivals. This

approach had cost the brewery its fourth-place position in national beer sales even before the boycott began. Just how much the recent sales drop is due to the Coors brothers' own marketing stupidity and how much to the efforts of the boycotters is open to question.

The old advertising approach is soon to be replaced with a new one aimed at the youth market, featuring country-western, soft-rock and modified soul music. How this will affect sales cannot be guessed, but the campaign cannot help the union's boycott effort.

Consequences of the left's fairly visible role in the fight against Coors have been mixed. Many individuals have devoted every spare moment to the strike and boycott, and a few have been arrested on badly trumped-up charges. One of those, folksinger/activist Kathy Kahn, who has cut a 45 rpm record about the strike, was clubbed and stomped into unconsciousness during an otherwise peaceful picket outside the Coors gates.

"In solidarity" with the strikers, the California-based New World Liberation Front has bombed the property of some Coors distributors. Strikers, however, say they do not appreciate such "help" and contend that the bombings did more harm than anything else. Last month a local TV station capitalized on the sensationalism of the NWLF, alleging that the militant Kahn was the terrorist group's Colorado contact. Kahn has denied the connection and charged the station with trying to divert attention away from the real issues of the strike.

Split in support coalition.

The accumulation of five months of sectarian bickering recently split the union's support coalition.

Originally an alliance of relatively diverse political groups and area unions, by mid-summer the coalition was merely a

left front with most of the members trying to exercise hegemony over the others and sold on their own "correct" approach to the strike.

There was general agreement that the union's early reliance on the NLRB and the boycott was a mistake. But "factions" formed around what to do about that.

On one side were those who argued for a more militant strike that they said would teach the strikers how to effectively fight the corporate ruling class. Even with militant actions, however, they said the workers would probably lose.

Others saw this approach as unrealistic and opportunistic. As one ex-coalition chairman pointed out, no matter how glorious might be the dream of a 1930s style mass action, that is not the reality of the Coors strike. To him and others in a split-off group now organized in a rank-and-file controlled Boycott Committee, there is still some feeling the workers can win and that winning is important.

In spite of the demoralizing effect of the NLRB decision, talk among some of the remaining rank and file has been tough. "The past six months have just been practice," says Sam Littles, whose scab-baiting wisecracks have enlivened the picket lines.

The question here, however, is whether he and five or six other rank and file leaders can count on the strikers to hold out for another six months. At the very least, that is how long it will take for them to regain contact with inactive strikers and to lure some workers out of the plant to build a credible strike.

All this has to be done without de-emphasizing the boycott, which is now the workers' only hold over Coors. Everybody knows it's a longshot.

Timothy Lange is a writer in Denver.

Courtesy NASA



SPACE WARS

& Other Defense Department Fantasies

Wanna new rocket?
Or perhaps I could
interest you in a
neutron bomb...

MILITARY NEEDS ENCROACHING ON NASA AND SPACE SHUTTLE PROGRAM

By John Markoff
Pacific News Service

Space war—now only a movie fantasy—could add a frightening new dimension to global conflict as early as the mid-1980s.

The Pentagon has quietly begun using the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's (NASA) new Space Shuttle program as a stepping stone to build a capability to fight a war in space. More than 100 of the first 560 Shuttle flights will carry American military satellites and weapons experiments into orbit.

Publicly, most American officials are on the record against expanding the arms race into space. In a press conference this month, for instance, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown said, "I would hope that we could keep space from becoming an area of active conflict."

But some military planners are excited about possible star wars. "Space is a dandy arena, actually," one DoD scientist was quoted as saying in a recent issue of *Aeronautics and Astronautics*. "You've got to attract strategic war off the planet. The notion of abhorring war in space is just plain wrong."

The Pentagon is concerned that the U.S. is falling behind the Soviets in key portions of the "space race." One Air Force general summarized the military's view of the situation: "There has never been a transportation medium in the history of man that has not been exploited for economic and military advantage. Space is not going to be an exception."

Weekly flights in the '80s.

The Space Shuttle, now being tested in Southern California, will allow scientists, private industry and the military to send large payloads into orbit on a weekly basis during the 1980s. The Shuttle system will include a reusable orbiter that will be boosted into space by giant rockets and then glide back to earth, landing like an airplane. The first spaceflight for the Shuttle is now scheduled for 1979.

Pentagon involvement in the Shuttle program began shortly after the Nixon administration—in a cost-cutting move—cancelled the Air Force Manned Orbiting Laboratory in 1969.

The DoD then decided to rely exclusively on NASA's Space Shuttle for routine access to space. By 1984 all military space missions will be carried by the Space Shuttle.

The Pentagon's first 10 shuttle missions will include the following satellites and weapons:

- Air Force DSCS-3—communications satellites for military use.
- Defense Meteorological Satellites.
- Laser weapons developed from the Space Laser Experiment Definition (SLED) studies intended to counter Soviet ICBMs.
- Teal Ruby, an infra-red monitoring system to detect low-flying aircraft.
- High Altitude Large Optics (HALO) a huge camera designed to monitor Soviet sites.

Military planners are currently at work on more exotic and potentially more deadly research to be carried out by the Space Shuttle. Last month the Air Force contracted with the Vought Corporation to build a test version of a satellite killer.

American intelligence agencies have re-

ported that the Soviets are also studying the use of lasers and space-mines, and some defense officials are worried that such Soviet satellite killers could be a threat to the Space Shuttle.

On the American side, NASA commissioned a study last year on the feasibility of placing a huge array of mirrors in orbit to reflect the energy of ground-based lasers and shoot down enemy missiles. The think-tank envisioned an advanced version of the Space Shuttle to put the mirrors into orbit and estimated the cost of such a system to be \$105 billion.

Orienting NASA to military.

NASA/DoD cooperation in the Space Shuttle program was called into question recently by the New York-based Council on Economic Priorities. The Council warns that Congress' ability to control the American space program will be complicated by the inclusion of the military in the Space Shuttle program.

"Because the DoD will be entirely dependent upon NASA's transportation system for space launches," a Council report states, "there is a danger that in the future NASA programs will be oriented toward military, rather than civilian and scientific purposes."

Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.) has claimed that NASA increased the payload of the Shuttle from 25,000 to 65,000 pounds to satisfy the Air Force and that Shuttle thrust was increased and other technical changes made in the program at the military's request.

In an interview last week, Gordon Adams, a research associate at the Council, said that NASA has been placed in a position where it must indirectly subsidize many DoD costs. In 1976 the Air Force refused to participate in funding the fourth and fifth Shuttle orbiters. "In effect NASA is carrying the charge for what they had originally anticipated being able to share with the Air Force budget," Adams stated.

But proponents of NASA's new military role argue that its cooperation with the DoD space program is both cost-effective and vital to national security.

Major General Richard D. Henry, vice commander of the Air Force research and development agency for space systems, says, "The Shuttle represents the next threshold for using space for vital military and scientific missions. If military space technology can provide reliability and global information, then our nation can cope with those forces that are upsetting the global equilibrium."

John Markoff is a freelance writer specializing in military affairs.

WHAT'S BEHIND CARTER'S PUSH FOR THE M-X MISSILE AND NEUTRON BOMB?

By Alan Wolfe

Two recent decisions by the Carter administration presage a new defense "posture" for the U.S. Within a ten-day period in early October, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown announced that development would continue on the M-X missile program, and he told NATO ministers to overcome their scruples against the neutron bomb and support its deployment.

Between them these two decisions will have a long range impact on defense policy far more decisive than the decision to stop production of the B-1 bomber. Both decisions seriously impair Carter's image as a man who understands the folly of the nuclear arms race.

The M-X missile is a key aspect of the defense TRIAD—the term used to describe a three-pronged strategy of bombers, sea-launched missiles, and land-based missiles.

At the moment, the U.S. has 1,054 intercontinental ballistic missiles. Each missile contains three warheads. If successfully launched, each ICBM could destroy sig-

nificant amounts of the Soviet Union.

But, some experts say, this is not enough. ICBMs are currently stored in immovable "silos." If the Russians broke through our defenses to attack them, all our Minuteman ICBMs would be vulnerable. Therefore we have to make our missiles moveable and, while we're at it, increase their number of warheads to 14. The result is the M-X.

M-X missiles will be stored in trenches seven to 12 miles long. Kept under five feet of concrete, they'll move back and forth at random speeds to prevent their being tracked. More accurate than existing ICBMs, they are also more powerful. They can drop a nuclear bomb within a quarter of a mile of a Soviet target.

They are also expensive. Brown has asked for an 80 percent increase in funds for the project: \$745 million in fiscal year 1979, compared to the current figure of \$134 million. If 200 to 300 M-X missiles are set into their tunnels—as most defense planners advocate—the total cost would be from \$30 to \$40 billion.

Serious about neutron bomb.

Secretary Brown's Oct. 12 speech to the NATO defense ministers in Bari, Italy, was also significant. While the Europeans are convinced that the neutron bomb has military value, they are skeptical of whether it can be politically justified.

The Nuclear Planning Group meeting was called in Bari to discuss the question of NATO preparedness against Eastern Europe. Despite Brown's plea that the Europeans proceed with the weapon, the defense ministers failed to agree to its use in Europe.

Undismayed, Brown claimed after the meeting that the U.S. did not require unanimity from Europeans before deploying the neutron bomb on the continent.

The Bari meeting is the first indication we have of how serious the Carter administration is about the neutron bomb. It would not be unlike Carter to advocate deployment in order to please hard-liners but proceed very slowly in order to please anti-nuclear forces. Brown's actions make this scenario unlikely. Apparently Carter takes very seriously the appeal of a weapon that can destroy people and preserve property.

There are two possible interpretations of the significance of these recent actions. The Carter administration may be talking about weapons production because it really wants them, or it may be developing "bargaining chips" to be used in the SALT talks with the Soviet Union. Either possibility is disturbing, if for different reasons.

Does Carter want weapons?

It is quite possible that Carter wants new weapons like the M-X and the neutron bomb for their own sake. His presidential campaign, of course, led people to think otherwise. Not only did Carter call during the campaign for cuts in the defense budget, he also repeatedly argued that limited nuclear war was an impossible concept. Any use of nuclear weapons, he said, would escalate to a full-scale, nuclear confrontation.

Yet both the M-X and the neutron bomb are based on the hypothesis that limited nuclear war is theoretically possible. Something must have changed Carter's mind, unless he was not telling the truth from the beginning.

The most obvious explanation for the shift in Carter's thinking on defense policy is that he has been strongly influenced by the cold war liberals of the Democratic party.

When he took office, Carter deliberately snubbed men like Paul Nitze and Eugene Rostow—firm believers in the Soviet menace and in the need to build weapons to counter it. Shocked at being frozen out of office, men like Nitze formed the Committee on the Present Danger to rail against communism and in favor of weapons.

Apparently they are having quite an impact. Columnists Evans and Novack have reported that Carter is now willing to listen to them. A procedure has been established whereby the Committee on the Present Danger will be able to meet on a regular basis with Defense Secretary Brown and National Security Advisor Brzezinski.

Thus Carter may have become a weapons advocate because of domestic pres-

ures within his own party.

He first thought that political moderation led to the left, since the Nitzes of the world had discredited cold war liberalism in Vietnam. In this phase of his political development, Carter appointed to key positions men who did not believe in extensive rearmament.

But the mood has shifted. The Committee on the Present Danger is on the offensive. Carter is moving with them. His decision to go ahead with expensive weapons does not make the world a more secure place, but it does nullify a source of potential disruption from the right-wing of his party.

Bargaining chips with Soviets.

The alternative explanation for the M-X and neutron bomb is that the Carter administration wants to enhance its position *vis a vis* the Soviet Union in the SALT talks.

For the very reasons that the military wants the M-X, the Soviets would see it as a violation of SALT. Knowing this, Carter could be holding it over their heads to win concessions on other points.

If this is true, it is a dangerous game, the most dangerous in town. Soviet missiles are also stored in silos. They would have no choice, if the gamble fails, to build their own version of the M-X. The result would be the most serious escalation in nuclear confrontation since the Cuban missile crisis.

One thing comes through. Whichever Carter's motivation in proceeding with these weapons, he is gambling with nuclear war in order to win a political point. The difference is whether the point is to be won at the expense of the right wing of the Democratic party or the Soviet Union.

The disturbing thought is that for all his talk of a new morality, Carter is ignoring the implications of what it means to proceed with the arms race in order to maintain his position.

Nuclear weapons defy politics: they kill everybody. It is worse than irresponsible to play games with them. Brezhnev understands this. Even Kissinger understood the point, although he backed away from it repeatedly. Carter seems not to have learned it yet.

We can only hope he does before we are all asked to pay the price of his folly.

Alan Wolfe writes regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

DESPITE CARTER THE U.S. REMAINS THE NUMBER ONE ARMS SUPPLIER TO THE WORLD

By Michael Klare
Pacific News Service

Behind President Carter's gloomy Oct. 4 assessment to the UN of efforts to limit the world's arsenal of arms lies the failure of his administration to curtail American arms sales abroad.

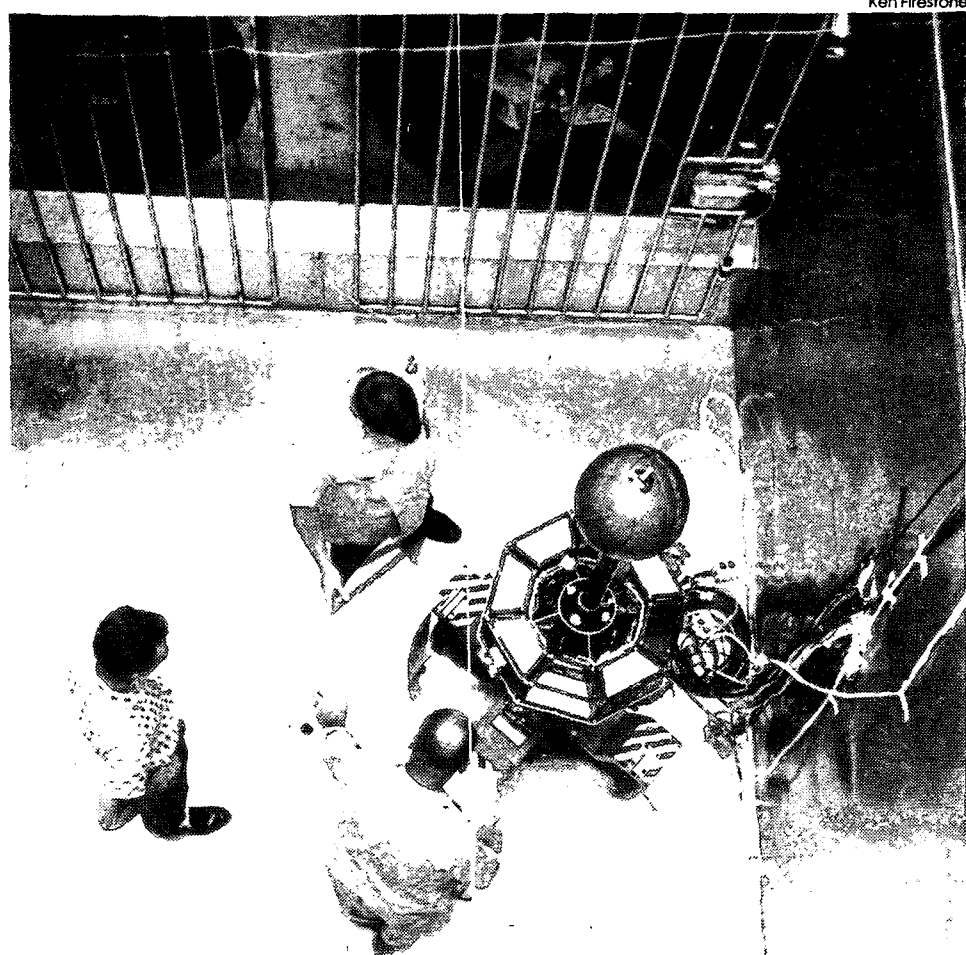
"I am particularly concerned," candidate Carter declared last year in the heat of his presidential campaign, "by our nation's role as the world's leading arms salesman." Denouncing the policies of the Nixon administration, he added, "If I become president, I will work...to increase the emphasis on peace and reduce the commerce in weapons."

Nine months into the Carter administration, however, Pentagon figures put foreign military sales for fiscal 1977 at \$8.8 billion—well above the 1976 levels.

Leslie Gelb, director of the State department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs and the man assigned to implement the arms reduction policy, has found himself fettered by the legacy of commitments and policies—often contradictory to each other—from previous administrations.

Changing attitudes.

When Gelb first began his study of arms policy options last winter, Washington observers predicted that the administration would impose a permanent ceiling on



American exports at a level considerably lower than the 1977 figure of \$10 billion.

One authoritative report in April suggested Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance were planning a 25 percent cut in sales. But as the Washington summer heat wore on, insiders began to disclose a changing attitude.

"Initially, the guidance was all predicated on finding ways to scale back on arms sales overseas," one official participating in the talks said recently. "The thesis was that arms sales are all wrong, but now that has changed, and the guidance for preparing the options is fairly balanced. The people in the White House now realize there are valid reasons for selling arms."

That balance, analysts both inside and outside the administration agree, has resulted from a combination of political, military and economic concerns.

Militarily, Washington finds itself obliged to continue arms supplies to its regional allies—Iran, Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, Brazil, among others—which, under the Nixon Doctrine, took over the job of defending American interests in the troubled Third World.

Economically, arms sales are a major instrument for improving the American balance of payments position and for reducing the costs the U.S. must pay for its weapons. Such exports are also a major source of profit for American arms firms and the various subcontractors who depend on military orders.

Before 1970 most American arms sales went to Japan, Canada and Western Europe, but today the bulk of purchases is by Third World nations. These countries bought \$230 million in arms per year in the 1950s, but now buy an astonishing \$6 billion worth—a large chunk going to the poor, debt-ridden nations of Latin America, Africa and Southeast Asia.

Early signs.

These considerations, combined with direct lobbying by the munitions corporations, began to affect administration decision-making even before Gelb had completed his policy analysis, according to State department officials.

On April 26 Carter bowed to stiff Air Force pressure and approved the sale of five super-sophisticated AWACS radar surveillance planes to the Shah of Iran.

Two weeks later, during his first trip abroad as President, Carter assured America's European allies that the NATO powers would be exempted from any new restrictions on military sales and that Israel would be afforded "special treatment."

On May 19 Carter announced a "set of controls, applicable to all transfers except those to countries with which we have major defense treaties (NATO, Japan, Australia and New Zealand)," and adding that he would "remain faithful to our treaty obligations" and "honor our historic responsibilities...to Israel."

During the last three years, however, approximately 35 percent of American arms exports have gone to these "exempted" countries and Israel. Another 10 percent of the arms sales have gone to those countries with which the U.S. has "major defense treaties."

The President also exempted from the cutback "transfers which can clearly be classified as services" and "commercial sales which the U.S. government monitors through the issuance of export licenses." Exemption of Foreign Military Sales contracts and commercial sales would further limit the promised controls to only about 35 percent of all military exports.

Total exports could even rise.

Said one longtime observer of Pentagon contracting, "Because commercial sales are expected to rise in coming years, total military exports could well rise above the fiscal 1977 level even if Carter's proposals are vigorously enforced."

Guidelines in the May 19 policy statement also banned promotional activity by the Department of Defense. Yet scarcely a week later the Pentagon displayed its wares at the International Air Show in Paris. The show featured flight demonstrations by a full roster of American planes, and *Aviation Week's* report on the show said that "U.S. technological domination across almost the entire aerospace spectrum has never been stronger."

Carter has ordered some cuts in military aid to Argentina, Ethiopia and Uruguay as a penalty for alleged human rights abuses, but he has opposed cuts to other countries with equal or worse records on human rights—including South Korea, Indonesia and the Philippines—on the ground that national security precludes any reductions of American aid.

These, and related events including recent proposals for weapons sales to Somalia, the Sudan and Chad, have called into question the significance of Carter's whole arms sales policy. The trade journal, *Aviation Week*, has even declared that "the impact on the U.S. aerospace industry will be small."

Michael Klare is a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies/Transnational Institute of Washington, and author of *War Without End: American Planning for the Next Vietnams*.

LABOR

Strikes and troubles in Steel



Lloyd McBride (left) with James Balanoff.

Imports, quotas and government aid for the steel industry

By David Moberg

Hit with a strong campaign blaming steel industry profit woes and plant closings on foreign imports, the Carter administration is very gently edging toward moves to restrict the flow of European and Japanese steel into the U.S. and to give breaks to the steel companies.

After meeting with steel industry and union representatives on Oct. 14, Carter pledged to enforce laws against unfair trade practices, but continued to reject imposition of quotas.

The main practical impact will be encouragement of steel companies to file complaints with the Treasury department charging that foreign steel-makers sell their products here at less than home market prices or less than the cost of production, causing damage to American companies.

Four such complaints have been filed within the past month, with one decision favoring the American industry's charges of "dumping" and one going against the accusation. More are expected in the next few weeks.

Some steel companies are reluctant to ask too many government favors, fearing that they will be asked for something in return—such as restraint on prices. However, U.S. Steel president Edgar Speer claimed that Carter may ease up on pollution standards for steel mills—which have been the most recalcitrant industrial opponents of environmental improvement—and may provide additional tax incentives—even though neither U.S. Steel nor Bethlehem Steel paid taxes in 1976. (Some observers suspect that the steel companies will push for direct grants from the Treasury.)

Last week Commerce Secretary Juanita Kreps proposed a massive federal Christmas gift to the steel industry—more tax breaks, eased environmental regulations and revised anti-trust laws that would permit several companies to finance jointly wholly new "greenfield" steel mills.

Meanwhile, European and Japanese

firms, while denying the dumping charges, have offered to reach voluntary limits on imports.

Speaking to a convention of Steelworker union members from the Chicago-Gary district, McBride blamed imports for the industry problems, including current low profit rates.

Earlier district director James Balanoff took a different approach—attacking the steel industry for failing to modernize plants early in the postwar era when profits were high and for refusing to compete on prices with foreigners or each other.

"Foreign imports might have something to do with it [steel shutdowns] but the biggest problem is pricing policies," Balanoff said.

Sensing that many of the steelworkers in the convention were not convinced by the import scare (they later passed a resolution rejecting that analysis), McBride told them, "Some people say McBride is on the industry side. If wanting a steel mill to be in business, if wanting steelworkers to have jobs in those mills is being on the company side, then I'm on the company side. I don't want any more mills closed."

A recent unpublished study of the steel crisis by independent consulting economist Gregory Palast rejects the claim that imported steel accounts for the bulk of the layoffs and plant closings. Although imports have seriously cut into some markets, Palast says, most of the closings are simply part of the long-term policies of steel mills toward abandonment of old facilities that have resulted in loss of 200,000 basic steel jobs since 1957.

Although steel imports have recently run near 18 percent of the domestic market, they will probably reach only 15 to 16 percent for the year, according to the Department of Commerce, up from 14.1 percent in 1976. Despite the increase, American production of steel for this year will probably run close to, perhaps above last year.

The real problem for the companies, Palast argues, is that foreign steel companies—partly through ingenious production and marketing—are cutting deeply into the most profitable steel markets here. Foreign companies "could be taking a third of the profits out of the market," Palast argues. "A lot of that is in new markets and they're supplying that."

Although a shorter work week—favored by McBride and Balanoff—would spread out jobs in steel, "there's no possible way to save steel jobs," Palast con-

cludes. He agrees, however, that protection of jobs must be the primary goal of the union. "You can only slow it down," he says.

Striking workers hold firm in Minnesota iron ore range

The iron ore miners' strike, which started Aug. 1, shows no sign of ending soon. Under the leadership of United States Steel, virtual owner of the Minnesota Iron range, the companies have decided to fight the strike in court rather than negotiate seriously.

They are ready for a tough battle. Stockpiles of ore are high, and steel firms—crying in Washington about imports—have threatened to import iron ore to keep their furnaces going if the strike continues.

Yet the 16,000 miners are still "solid, really great," Joe Samargia, president of the 3,000-member U.S. Steel local at the Minntac mine, reports.

The strike has grown out of grievances accumulated and ignored for the past 12 to 15 years, especially the difference in wages between miners and basic steelworkers. A wide range of safety demands are also among the 1,250 local issues to be settled.

Although the steel companies lost a request for an injunction against the strike on the grounds that a crucial incentive pay demand was not a legitimate local issue under the industry's Experimental Negotiating Agreement, they have used their appeal of that decision as an opportunity to pry into the bargaining strategy of the miners.

The companies also appealed a district court ruling that they were obliged to continue paying insurance premiums for striking miners. The appellate judge turned the decision over to an arbitrator, who then ruled in favor of the companies.

The union has arranged to continue the insurance during the strike. Workers will pay the premiums later when they go back to work.

Two days after the insurance decision the chief U.S. Steel negotiator told local union bargaining representatives that the companies "absolutely won't discuss the incentive payments," Samargia says. "We had an opportunity to tell him what we thought and we told him to get screwed."

Union president Lloyd McBride suggested in Chicago that a compromise, gradually introducing incentive pay over an extended period, might break the deadlock, but Samargia said that would not be acceptable.

The court delays and harassment have meant that no meaningful talks have taken place. In the meantime local union officials have had to fight to guarantee payment of public assistance that strikers are eligible to collect. Samargia's local also beat back company lobbying against a county plan to hire strikers for part-time road clearance work.

The militancy of the strike has been strengthened not only by the backlog of gripes but also by the large number of young workers who have recently been hired. In some mines the average age is in the mid-20s.

Older workers see the strike as the opportunity for which they've been waiting for years, and younger workers see the contract as determining their future in the mines.

"All my uncles and brothers work for U.S. Steel, and they don't care if they ever go back," Roger Klander, 28, vice-president of Local 6115 of Inland Steel's Minorca mine, said. "They hate U.S. Steel so much. U.S. Steel owns that country, and as far as I'm concerned they own the government."

As the strike drags on, discontent with

the international union is beginning to surface. "The international is good on the courts, attorneys," Samargia says. "That's it. I've been disappointed with McBride not coming out real strong."

Miners were miffed when the international union Executive Board boosted the strike pay from \$20 a week to \$30 a week, instead of the \$40 they had sought. They also were disappointed that the board did not authorize sending a letter requesting strike support to all Steelworker locals.

In a region where there's hardly a family without several ore miners and all the business and life of the community hinges on mining and the union's power, success or failure in this strike means as much for the spirit of the people as for their pocketbooks or health on the job.

"We've got a lot of young people," Samargia observes. "They're learning what the hell a union's supposed to be. If we won what we want in a few months, that company is going to be in bad shape next time around."

U.S. Steel realizes that as well. And that's why the strikers have been hooking up winter heating equipment in the trailers outside mine gates on the Mesabi range.

—David Moberg

Factionalism continued by McBride in the Steelworkers

Linus Wampler, the new director of the Steelworkers union in the Minnesota-Michigan iron range country, thought that he had two good candidates for the staff openings in his district.

He sent their names on to union president Lloyd McBride late in the summer. Typically the president respects such nominations and automatically confirms the appointment.

But Wampler heard nothing from McBride until Sept. 16. Sitting in a union Executive Board meeting, Wampler was startled to hear McBride announce the names of two new staffers to District 32—neither of them the people picked by Wampler.

James Balanoff, director of the Chicago-Gary district of the Steelworkers and a leader of the Steelworkers Fight Back group that supported Ed Sadlowski against McBride in the election last February, suffered the same treatment. Seven new staff reps were appointed and an eighth transferred into his district without his approval. His nominees were rejected.

After an Oct. 14 press conference in Chicago, McBride explained his actions: "I said I would not appoint supporters or active members of Fight Back. They have had a policy of attacking and harassing the international union. My responsibility is to appoint staff representatives and direct them. I don't want to appoint people in whom I don't have confidence."

Although Wampler shared many of Sadlowski's views on the union, he was neutral in the election and has never claimed to be a member of Fight Back.

McBride's action is unprecedented, veteran Steelworkers said. It is likely to intimidate any other district directors from offering criticism of the administration and is another sign that the fight between insurgent critics and the tight "official family" will continue.

Both Wampler and Balanoff, with the support of a resolution from the District 31 (Chicago-Gary) Steelworkers convention, have called for a full discussion of the staff appointments in the next Executive Board meeting.

—David Moberg

IN THE WORLD

WEST GERMANY

Terror killings raise new clamor on German right

THE SUCCESSFUL RESCUE RAID OF WEST German commandos on a hijacked Lufthansa 737, freeing 87 hostages and killing three of four hijackers, may have meant the end of the Baader-Meinhof gang. After the rescue three of the gang members were found dead in their cells, allegedly by their own hand. They had been among the 11 prisoners whose release the hijackers had demanded. ¶ But their deaths may not end the tendency, in Rudi Dutschke's words, of "terrorism to breed despotism." The next day kidnapped industrialist Martin Schleyer's body was found in the trunk of a car. These deaths have fueled demands for action against all those associated, however remotely, with the terrorists. Along with a report from Frankfurt, we are printing a letter from a bookseller, Gerd Schnepel, recently convicted of having published a translation of *The Anarchist Cookbook*.

By Brigitte Kirch
and Bill Hansen

FRANKFURT, WEST GERMANY—A series of terrorist attacks against prominent West German industrialists have brought on a rising clamor from the right, led by ex-foreign minister Franz Josef Strauss.

After Juergen Ponto, the head of the country's largest commercial bank, was killed in an apparent kidnapping attempt last summer, the crescendo on the right became so loud that former chancellor and current chairman of the Social Democratic party, Willy Brandt, wrote an open letter to his successor Chancellor Helmut Schmidt warning against what Brandt sees as the danger of a re-birth of fascism.

Many Germans have always regarded Brandt as unpatriotic because of his resolute opposition to Germany during the war. Strauss tapped this resentment by labelling the former chancellor "anti-German."

At the people's mercy.

With the Red Army Faction kidnapping of industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer there has been a wave of near hysteria orchestrated by Strauss and daily shoved before the public in lurid headlines by the rightwing publishing empire of Axel Springer among whose holdings is the country's largest circulation newspaper, *Bild Zeitung*.

Last week Strauss suggested that the courts or the police wouldn't have to bother if the "terrorists" would be left to the "people's mercy."

The government's reaction has been to vacillate. Schmidt responded to Brandt's letter by suggesting that the former chancellor was exaggerating. Faced with Strauss' frontal attacks that the government is too soft to maintain order, Schmidt called for an end to hys-

teria in a Bundestag speech.

At the same time, in less than two days his government pushed a new law through the Bundestag that can prohibit legal counsel to anyone in prison. The attorneys for the RAF have long been accused of passing messages and of conspiring along with their clients to commit crimes against the state. Instead of prosecuting the various lawyers, the German government has caved in to the cries of the right and passed legislation that allows the Interior Minister to decide arbitrarily whether or not a particular lawyer may be "conspiring" with his jailed client. In that event the prisoner is simply denied access to his or her lawyer. Already 70 imprisoned West Germans have been prohibited from counsel under the law that is barely a week old.

Spiritual instigators.

Frustrated by the inability of anyone to apprehend Schleyer's kidnappers, the right is shooting from the hip in all directions.

The mass circulation magazine *Quick* published two weeks ago a list of people, mainly intellectuals, who it contends are the "spiritual instigators of terrorism." The list included authors Heinrich Boell, Guenter Grass, and Marie-Luise Rinser as well as film producer Volker Schlöndorff, and Claus Peymann, director of the Stuttgart State Theater. Screamed *Quick*, "The Boells are worse than Baader-Meinhof." Since that time the "spiritual instigators" have been flooded with hate mail and threats to their lives and livelihoods.

Rinser, for example, was scheduled to read some of her poetry when, at the last minute, because of threats, the sponsors cancelled the 66-year-old author's appearance on the grounds that her safety could



Franz Josef Strauss.

not be guaranteed. Several days later the apartment of Boell's son was searched by 40 police because of what the Cologne police chief said was an anonymous tip that three armed men had been seen in the vicinity.

Revivals of Nazi culture have also emerged in the last six months. This summer a film on Hitler's life played to packed houses, and there has been an unprecedented sale of all kinds of Hitlerian memorabilia. One can walk into a news shop here and see numbers of magazines featuring Hitler or some aspect or another of the Third Reich.

Early this fall it was revealed that 11 young lieutenants who were students at the Bundeswehr University near Munich had had a drinking party where they sang the old Nazi "Horst Wessel Song." Having built a bonfire, they tossed cardboard cutouts labeled "Jew" into it, gave the

Nazi salute and shouted "Sieg Heil." The 11 all face disciplinary hearings. The Defense Minister, however, has dismissed the incident by saying that they were young, immature and drunk "...with a deplorable deficit of historical information..."

The incident brought to mind the furor of the year before when the man reputed to have been Hitler's favorite officer, former Luftwaffe pilot Hans Ulrich Rudel, who has espoused far-right causes since the war, was the guest of honor and featured speaker at a "tradition inspiring" reunion on a West German air base.

The two generals, later dismissed, who invited Rudel were neither immature nor drunk, nor were they so young that their knowledge of recent history should have been deficient. These incidents and similar ones have raised questions as to the extent of the "Nazi tradition" in the new, supposedly purged, West German armed forces.

Gerd Schnepel writes:

Udo Polzer and I ran a left bookstore and publishing house in Gaiganz and Erlangen. We were put on trial this month for being "spiritual culprits of terrorism."

In 1974, a police informer, who was a member of Franz Josef Strauss' Christian Social Union, bought a German translation of the American book, *The Anarchist Cookbook* in our bookstore. Three months later, 30 police with sub-machine guns and dogs surrounded the building, and detectives searched and photographed all the rooms. They found one cookbook in the kitchen and about 100 copies of *Kampf der Vernichtungshaft (Fight the Extermination in the Prisons)*. Nearly three years later, we were charged with having sold the first book and printing and distributing the second.

The public prosecutor demanded one-and-a-half years of prison for each of us. The court wanted more. According to the judge, the book about prison conditions "contains real facts," but "this is not enough to make it a 'documentation.'" Citing that the Red Army Faction had charged in the book that Holger Meins was assassinated in prison by letting him die of hunger, the judge remarked, "This is not information or documentation; this is demagoguery." It is "a defamation and virulent insult to the state and its institutions, poisoning the atmosphere of the society in which we all must live."

According to the judge, it is "what the ultra-leftists want: an incredible provocation and temptation to young, unstable people." Printing and distributing it was not a small offense, but a "sort of pollution."

The judge continually mentioned my past. Not only had I founded the bookstore, but I had worked actively in the "leftist scene" for about 10 years; I had prior convictions for breaching the peace, resistance to the state-authority, and rioting. Worst of all, I show no remorse!

We were convicted and sentenced to one year for printing how to make a molotov cocktail in the *Anarchist Cookbook* and to one-and-a-half years for insulting the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Bavarian television called the sentence "too mild."

In November, more trials against left editors and booksellers will begin.

Questioning Communist democracy

By Bernard Moss

THE FRENCH LEFT, which had expected to win in next March's elections, may be in trouble. On Sept. 15, a summit meeting among the French Communists, Socialists, and Left Radicals broke up when the Socialists and Left Radicals refused to agree with Communist demands for revising the left's Common Program.

Bernard Moss, author of the recently published *Origins of the French Labor Movement* and of a series on the French left for *IN THESE TIMES* (Jan. 26-Feb. 16) explores, in the last of a four-part series, the rift between the two parties. Moss recently returned from a year in France.

The oldest and most compelling argument against communism is that it endangers personal and collective freedom. In contrast to the Giscardian liberals, who like to point out the economic flaws in the Common Program, the neo-Gaullist Chiracians have always preferred the old saw that it will "imprison France in a bureaucratic and collectivist straitjacket." The reason that this propaganda has—except for conservative die-hards—fallen on deaf ears is that the French public feels that it already suffers under capitalism from bureaucratic constraints from which the left, with its guarantee of political pluralism, workers' and consumers' control and local autonomy, promises liberation.

Questions remain, however. They have been articulated by left intellectuals and are probably felt by many voters. The left may effectively guarantee constitutional democracy, but what about its own internal democracy? If the democratic choice will be between working class bureaucrats, the Communists, and middle class technocrats, the Socialists, where is the democratic socialism?

Doubts in this regard, which apply in different ways to both parties, have especially hampered the Communists, who have yet to translate their organizational strength into more votes. The internal principle of democratic centralism, of leadership responsibility and collective discipline, which has enabled the party to become the most effective political machine in France, has also frightened away many potential sympathizers. Brought up in a liberal democracy where elections are ordinarily contested, they cannot understand how a non-liberal party can guarantee a pluralistic democracy.

Filtered representation.

Wrapped in mystery and Cold War propaganda, the practice of democratic centralism is more interesting and complex than would appear. It is more than the statutory subordination of minority to majority and of lower bodies to higher ones.

Investing leadership with decision-making authority, it nevertheless allows for a filtered representation of rank and file through successive levels of cell, section, federation and national congress. At the base of the structure, the cell functions practically as a direct democracy, which freely chooses its leadership and takes local initiatives. All along the line, nominations for leadership may be made, propositions amended and opposed, but though it is not expressly forbidden, contested elections and counter-propositions are virtually unknown. As a result of indirect elections and an effort to achieve consensus at each level, dissenting voices hardly ever reach the party congress, which every three years elects leadership, members of the political bureau and central committee.

These leaders are expected to take political initiatives in conformity with the strategic orientation set at the congress. Though not obligated to consult the base, these leaders do keep in touch with rank and file sentiment in local organizations—more so, in the opinion of two journalists who recently "toured" the party, than in



The absence of representative democracy inside the Communist party has raised doubts about its commitment to democracy.

any other political party.

Since the last party congress abandoned the doctrine of the violent dictatorship of the proletariat, there has been considerable pressure to expand party democracy. As the party becomes more of a mass organization sensitive to currents of popular opinion, it has to encourage more discussion and debate and more local initiatives than in the past. Party leaders have promised to act with a new "transparency" that does not conceal unpleasant truths or ulterior motives.

In contrast to the Stalinist years, when strict conformity was the rule, free wheeling debate now goes on at all levels. Two leading intellectuals in the party, Jean Elsenstein on the right, and Louis Althusser on the left, would like to open the party up to contradictory public debates of the type that are aired in the Italian party. So accustomed were many younger members to talk about party democracy that the unilateral decision of the central committee to reverse its position on the *force de frappe* caused a rude awakening and a small rebellion that was quickly absorbed by the party apparatus. (See *ITT*, Oct. 19.)

On the defensive.

The question of democratic centralism has put the party on the defensive. In a recent book, *The Communists and the State*, three members of the central committee, Francois Hincker, Lucien Seve and Jean Fabre, have tried to reconcile democratic centralism with their vision of a pluralistic grass-roots democracy.

They argue that it flows directly from the scientific character of Marxism and the vanguard role of the party. If the party is to lead the working class to socialism, then it must itself be led by those revolutionaries who know most about the conditions and line of march. If the party opened itself up to factions and representational democracy, they fear it would lose its capacity to provide socialist leadership: to resist the pressure of liberal ideology and maintain organic links with the working class, to make broad alliances without losing its class perspective and to

maneuver tactically without losing its strategic direction.

Centralism and democracy, for them, go hand in hand. Leaders cannot make valid decisions unless they are in touch with popular sentiment through the rank and file, which must therefore be free to express its views and observations. Rank and filers should be that much freer to express their doubts and reservations precisely because they know their views will not be automatically translated into policy. Centralism should also insure a high level of discussion since members are debating policies they are bound to implement.

Finally, they argue, the Communist party is a goal rather than process oriented association where the true test of a decision is not whether it has a temporary majority, but whether it works in practice, whether it advances the struggle for socialism.

In defense of their unilateral action on the *force de frappe* party leaders argue that they were acting on a mandate to defend national independence. When on the basis of their evaluation of highly technical information, they decided that such could no longer be guaranteed by conventional forces, they changed their position in conformity with a consistent principle.

In principle, they say they are not opposed to prior discussion of party resolutions, but that in a rapidly changing and complex political battle, they cannot afford to refer all decisions back to the rank and file. At the same time, they insist that party members would have had an obligation to oppose them if they had acted in violation of the party's basic principles.

Party not the state.

According to surveys, Communist rank and filers feel their party is actually more democratic than those with formal representational democracy. They point out that in the Socialist party democracy takes the form of rigid and antagonistic factional disputes that are manipulated by elite groups and leave the rank and filers out of consideration. The result of this elite fac-



Above: Communist meeting in Paris. Below: Robert Fabre, Radical party negotiator.

tionalism is a general low level of political consciousness and activity and a failure to translate words into deeds.

The weakness of participatory democracy in the Socialist party may be due to its relative youth or special circumstances, but the Communists believe that a similar fault has sapped the revolutionary potential of nearly every social democratic party based on representational democracy.

To those fearful of a French Gulag, the Communists reply that they are not proposing their organizational principle as a model for society, that their membership is completely voluntary and that they will only assume governmental responsibilities if freely chosen by the people. If they are chosen, it will be because they have been able to offer realistic solutions to the capitalist crisis, and they will only have been able to do this, they say, because they will have preserved their vanguard role through democratic centralism.

Under a pluralistic socialism freedom would not be endangered because the majority will always be free to choose their rivals and turn them out. They add that it is precisely because the Soviet Communists have identified the party with the state and imposed centralism as a social norm that they have relinquished their role as the vanguard of the working class. ■

ENGLAND

A lesbian in the Labour party, An adulterer among the Tories

By Mervyn Jones

In Britain it is rare for a Member of Parliament to lose the support of his or her local political organization. As we have no primaries, the MP is selected by a delegate meeting, normally between 50 and 100 people. These same people have it in their power to enforce the MP's retirement through a vote of no confidence, but the vast majority of MPs are safe until they retire of their own free will.

It happens, however, that we have witnessed two cases of a challenge to an MP at the same time—one in the Tory party and one in the Labour party. The stories are of interest in terms of social prejudice rather than of politics in the strict sense.

Nicholas Scott has been Tory MP for South Kensington and Chelsea since 1974. This is a wealthy part of London (incidentally, Margaret Thatcher is among the voters) and the Tory majority is impregnable. Scott is on the progressive wing of the party, a figure in the Tory Reform Group, and a devoted adherent of Edward Heath, the deposed leader and "king in exile." He was lucky to be selected in the first place, and the record over the last three years has shown that there are acute political differences between the hard-line Tories who are strong in the local party organization and their MP.

Maureen Colquhoun—she is the first MP to insist on being known as "Ms.," not "Mrs."—was also elected in 1974 as Labour MP for the industrial town of Northampton. She is on the left of the party, and so are most of the members; they chose her, in fact, because they wanted a left-winger. To this day, no serious political differences between Colquhoun and the party organization have emerged. It should be noted, however, that the Labour majority is small and the seat unsafe.

Adultery and lesbianism.

Now for the personal angles. Scott was married to a delightful lady, and this asset was quite a factor in his selection (Tories are keen on MPs with wives equipped to play a useful supporting role). Unhappily, the Scott marriage was disintegrating and broke up soon after the husband secured his political success. Scott, who isn't short of cash and likes to spend it in London's fashionable nightspots, has been seen around with a variety of ladies. Gossip columns have listed several such attachments, not only since the divorce but be-



Labour MP Mary Colquhoun.

Lesbianism, adultery, these were the issues when two members of Parliament were challenged by their party organizations.

fore it. Understandably, Kensington Tories who accepted him as a sound family man feel cheated.

Colquhoun's marriage has also broken up since she became an MP. Following the divorce, she set up house with another woman. The sensational newspapers were soon hot on the story, and one of them reproduced a party invitation depicting the two women with arms linked and the words: "Babs and Maureen at home." Which of Colquhoun's "friends" sneaked the invitation to the press is still unknown. Anyway, the party stalwarts of Northampton woke up to the startling discovery that their MP was a lesbian.

Promptly, a section of the party started canvassing support for a no-confidence resolution. The problem, in the absence of any political controversy, was to find grounds that didn't reek of intrusion into personal life. Various pretexts were raked up, some of them as trivial as an incident between the MP and a parking attendant.

Use was also made of a speech in which Colquhoun had said that racist demagogue Enoch Powell had served a purpose in drawing attention to social deprivation in mixed-race communities. Ludicrously, it was charged that Colquhoun was a racist.

For Scott, things heated up when Neville Beale became chairman of the Kensington Tories. Charging Scott with neglecting local interests, he set in motion the procedure for a no-confidence vote. Beale is certainly a right-winger, and it's difficult to say whether objections to Scott's reforming views or to the MP's carefree private life come uppermost in his mind. Doubtless both were factors. As the crucial meeting drew near, Scott was vulnerable for two sets of reasons. By contrast, it can confidently be said that Colquhoun would never have been challenged but for the revelation of her sexual preferences.

A nasty shock.

By coincidence, both meetings took place on the same evening, Sept. 27. The Kensington Tories voted confidence in Scott by a convincing majority of 69 votes to 21. Maybe some of them recalled the remark once made by Tory dignitary Lord Hailsham, to the effect that public life would be very different if all adulterers were excluded from it. After the meeting, Scott told the press cheerfully that he regarded the episode as over and had no intention of changing any of his policies.

But at Northampton, Labour delegates voted by 23 to 18 to withdraw their confidence from Colquhoun and select a new candidate before the next election. This decision has yet to be ratified by Labour party headquarters, but the rules say that a local verdict can be overturned only if there has been a procedural irregularity. It looks very much as though Colquhoun's political career is over.

Emerging furious from the meeting, she told reporters: "I am gay and proud of it. I am astounded by the prejudice and hypocrisy of my opponents." The campaign against her, she said, had been "sordid, disgraceful and terribly unfair."

For those of us who like to think that the Labour party is in all respects more progressive and tolerant than the Tories, the vote at Northampton comes as a nasty shock.

Mervyn Jones writes for *The New Statesman*.

Courtesy Southeast Asia Resource Center



IN HIS REPORT FROM THAILAND, Philip Kunstadt describes the wide-spread feeling that Thanin Kravixien's government was "not long for the world." Thanin's world ended abruptly last week as the rightwing armed forces, under Admiral Sangad Chaloryoo, declared the constitution abolished and dissolved Thanin's government.

Thanin's overthrow came reportedly because the armed forces thought he was becoming too "independent."

The event adds weight to Kunstadt's claim on the following page that Thailand is another Vietnam in the making.

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Photographs of the October 6, 1976, coup at Thammasat University, Bangkok, courtesy Southeast Asia Resource Center.



THAILAND: A VIETNAM IN THE MAKING?

By Philip Kunstadt

It is often said that those who cannot learn from history are doomed to repeat past mistakes. Americans who opposed American intervention in Vietnam would do well to consider that in connection with the growing crisis in Thailand.

Like Vietnam in the '50s and '60s, Thailand today is ruled by a dictator who came to power with strong American support, who faces increasing political opposition and military insurgency and who relies heavily on American military and economic aid.

Thailand's Prime Minister Thanin Kravixien took power in October 1976

following a bloody military coup that ended a three-year experiment in Thai democracy. Like Vietnam's Ngo Dinh, Thanin owes much to the U.S.

In 1973 widespread student demonstrations in Thailand, at Thammasat and other universities, had led to the toppling of the military dictatorship of Thanom Kittikachorn and Prapas Charusathira. The new democratic regime, the first in Thailand's history, quickly aroused American enmity and the opposition of Thailand's own military and right wing by asking the U.S. to withdraw its five Air Force bases.

The U.S. responded by sharply decreasing its economic aid, presumably to cause

economic dislocation and to "destabilize" the new government. Meanwhile, American military aid to the Thailand generals who staged the coup in October 1976 was increased.

After the coup the American ambassador in Bangkok, Charles Whitehouse, quickly and warmly greeted the new government. There has been speculation that he may have known about the coup in advance. There is also widespread speculation in Thailand that the CIA was involved, directly or indirectly. One former long-time CIA employee told me in Bangkok, "Based on my years of experience with the agency, I can say that this looks exactly like their handiwork."

Thanin's rigidity.

Some Thais even see parallels between the politics and personalities of Diem and Thanin. One Thai journalist said, "Both Diem and Thanin use anti-Communism as a ruse for getting more American aid. Like Diem, Thanin is given to blind, unthinking actions that turn many people against him. And, like Diem, he is a rigid, inflexible man, a man of black or white, yes or no."

Many Thais feel that Thanin's rigidity severely handicaps his effectiveness as an anti-Communist leader and that some of his actions may, as Diem's did, be counter-productive. One Thai from a prominent family with long experience in Bangkok politics put it this way: "Thanin will go down in history as the man who helped promote Thai Communism more than anyone else." Thus everyone I spoke with in Bangkok, including Thai and Western journalists, academicians, religious leaders, and politicians, assumed that Thanin's government was not long for this world. They differed on just when the next coup would take place; some said September, some October, some next winter. Most people assumed that Thanin's replacement would be an extreme right-winger, probably from the military, who would proclaim himself more effective at fighting the Communist threat.

Jeffersonian Democrats.

As in Vietnam, many of the Thai insurgents are not committed to Communism. As the former governor of one province with an especially severe insurgency problem put it, "Most of the so-called Communists have never read Marx or Lenin or Mao. But many have studied in the United States and have read Jefferson and Lincoln. These insurgents are not Communists but Jeffersonian democrats."

One of the significant differences between Vietnam in the early '60s and Thailand today is the level of urban Buddhist opposition. Thanin is a Buddhist and there is almost no active urban opposition today. The Buddhist church in Thailand, unlike in Vietnam, has been notably non-political.

There are some indications, however, that the traditional political apathy of Thai Buddhists may be changing. One prominent right-wing monk, Kittiwutto, became famous throughout Thailand for his statement, "To kill a Communist is [to earn merit], like killing a fish to give to a monk." Other monks are becoming active in progressive politics. Several monks campaigned during the brief period of Thai democracy for candidates of the Socialist Party of Thailand (SPT). Others, notably Buddha Dasa Bhikku and Phra Pimoltham, are beginning to become well-known left figures in Thailand.

Insurgency grows.

As in Vietnam, there is every reason to believe that the insurgency in Thailand will continue to grow. The worsening economic situation is creating a climate conducive to insurgency. Over 30 percent of Thailand's population lives in rural areas and rice-growing villages where people lack water for irrigating, medical care and education. This summer the monsoon rains were late. Traveling through several districts and provinces in northern Thailand in early July, I saw paddy after paddy lying parched in the sun instead of being flooded for transplanting. New rice shoots were turning yellow and then brown. This situation could easily be corrected by building dams and irrigation canals.

I also visited several sub-districts in Chainat Province where the people had not seen a doctor since 1974, when their local physician retired. And the village schools in rural Thailand provide a largely meaningless education for village youngsters who, in any case, seldom go beyond the fourth grade.

While the most basic needs of Thailand's rural poor go unmet, the present Five-Year Plan of economic development stresses production and consumption of luxury goods for the urban elite. The Bangkok government is stressing production of such items as cosmetics (5.5 percent projected growth this year), carbonated soft drinks such as Coca-Cola,





Pepsi, and 7-Up (7 percent projected growth), and rugs and wall-to-wall carpeting (30 percent projected growth). It should come as no surprise that the insurgents can find support from many rural Thais.

Communist M.D.s.

The case of medical care in rural Thailand provides an excellent illustration both of the sudden growth of the insurgency after Oct. 6 and why it is likely to continue.

Thai students are an important force in Thai politics, both because of the role they played in toppling the military dictatorship of Thanom and Prapas in October 1973, and because it was the student demonstrations in 1976 that gave the military the excuse to seize power again in order to restore "order."

Students, professors, writers, and other intellectuals have been viewed with deep suspicion by the new government. Many have fled the country and many others are in jail. Additional numbers—no one knows precisely how many—have fled to the jungles to join the insurgents.

One journalist summed up the situation this way: "For 35 years the CPT (Communist Party of Thailand) tried without success to recruit intellectuals. Until 1976 the entire organization had only one PhD, and one PhD candidate—and the PhD candidate had received his degree in Japan. Now, all of a sudden, the CPT has 1,000 PhDs and 1,000 M.D.s and medical students."

Many rural villagers who have never in their lives seen a doctor are now receiving medical care. It is easy to imagine how the government's search-and-destroy missions must look to these villagers. One Western expert on Thai politics commented, "The threat of Communism may look very different to a rural Thai peasant than it does to a well-fed Thai in Bangkok or to an American."

Killing Communists produces more.

Even the military is now admitting that there has been a dramatic upsurge in guerrilla activity. When the military made such pronouncements before the October 1976 coup, the statements could be discounted as right-wing propaganda aimed at discrediting the democratic government for being weak and ineffectual in dealing with the Communist threat. But today the military's own government is in power; the military certainly has no vested interest in discrediting its own people.

A recent interview with a thoughtful and intelligent Thai army general who has for years been directly associated with the government's counter-insurgency efforts provides an interesting insight into both the insurgency question itself and the government's efforts to deal with it. The general said: "One cannot suppress the Com-

munists with arms and repression. Only providing a life of plenty, with justice, for the people will stop Communism. Trying to kill all the Communists only produces more." Unfortunately, Thailand's present dictator is in no mood to hear such advice.

Following the American example in Vietnam, Thailand has already adopted the strategic hamlet in its counter-insurgency war. In areas of suspected Communist insurgency throughout the north and northeast portions of the country, the government is clearing villages of their inhabitants and placing the people in resettlement camps. Their former villages are then declared "free-fire zones" where anything that moves is shot.

Food is generally scarce in the resettlement camps, and there is no land for farming. Last autumn, when several villages were cleared just prior to the harvest, several villagers attempted to sneak back to their fields to rescue some of their crops. They were promptly killed by the Thai air force.

As the bombing of Thai rural areas increases, the tragic stories of villagers caught in the bombing raids multiply. One villager told me of the events she witnessed on May 15, 1977, when Mae Ped Forest, near Ban Na Kam village, was bombed three times by the Thai air force.

Most of the residents of the forest had moved there relatively recently from surrounding villages, driven there either by previous bombing raids or by the severe drought that was destroying their crops. Mae Ped Forest was suspected of being a Communist stronghold, so the area was bombed.

Not one Communist guerrilla was killed in the bombing—they had by that time penetrated deeper into the forest. But 160 villagers were killed in the three bombing raids that one day.

Moderates jailed.

Thailand does not yet have 200,000 political prisoners as South Vietnam had, but it does have many thousands. As in Vietnam many of the prisoners are political moderates who could be crucial in facilitating a reconciliation between Thailand's polarized left and right. Many Thais fear that by attempting to silence the middle-of-the-roads, Thanin is creating an increasingly explosive situation—a situation that is only likely to get worse.

An excellent illustration of this point concerns the case of 12 students at Thammasat University who were arrested last Oct. 6. The students were all members of the Buddhist Student Club at the university and were committed to nonviolence. When the student demonstrations broke out in early October and the rhetoric (but not the actions) of many students became increasingly violent, these 12 students undertook a public fast. The primary purpose of the fast, as one of the students explained to me recently, was to dramatize their appeal to their fellow students and the general public to renounce violence and act nonviolently.

The new government apparently felt so threatened that one of its first acts when it took power on Oct. 6 was to have these 12 students arrested. The students were charged with nine different counts, including "joining in having guns and bombs without permission that are used in wars," "having actions of a gangster," "joining in killing and trying to kill other people," and "joining in recruiting of people for insurgency." Several of these charges carry mandatory death penalties upon conviction.

Rumors of torture.

According to one Western missionary who has worked in Thailand for many years and has studied the situation in depth, there are six categories of political prisoners in Thailand. The best known of these outside the country are the 111 students arrested at Thammasat University on Oct. 6, the day of the coup, 24 of whom are still in detention. Another important category of political prisoners are the approximately 8,000 people arrested on the charge of "endangering society." Approximately 20 percent of these are political prisoners, according to the missionary.

Prisoners arrested for "endangering society" are generally not charged with a

specific offense and are never brought to trial. They can be held indefinitely, and present indications are that the government intends to do just that with many of them.

The largest single category of political prisoners are those arrested by province or district military or police personnel on "suspicion of being a Communist" or on "suspicion of being a Communist sympathizer." The missionary knows of several districts with as many as 50 or 60 such prisoners; since there are 600 districts in Thailand, he concludes that there may be thousands of such detainees.

There have been persistent rumors of widespread torture of such prisoners; when I was in Thailand in July the first documented information concerning such torture was received in Bangkok. The case concerned a school headmaster named Udon Pakalong from Nakhon Si Thammarat who was arrested recently along with 10 others. The 11 prisoners were doubled over, sewn into sacks, thrown into a bunker, and told they would be left there—unable to move and without food, water, or latrine—until they confessed.

Another important category of Thai political prisoner is the so-called "Article 21" prisoners. Article 21 of the Thai constitution empowers the prime minister to pass sentence summarily on anyone he

trained in the U.S., and many police officers charged with the suppression of Communism studied at the International Police Academy in Washington, D.C.

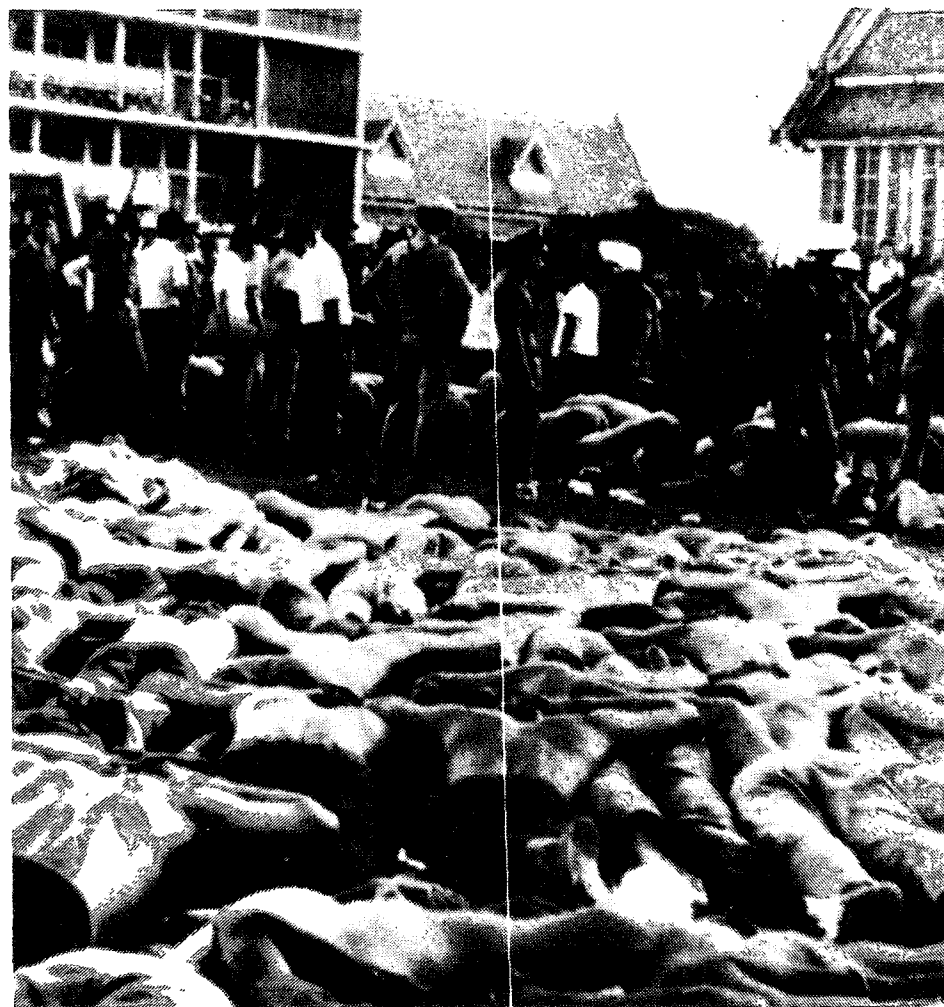
American corporate investment in Thailand is significantly lower than it is in Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines or Indonesia. Nevertheless, such investment runs into tens of millions of dollars.

The U.S. is also dependent on Thailand for tin, a primary commodity essential for American industry.

Sensitive to U.S. opinion.

Thailand gets enough American aid and has enough investment by American corporations to make it very sensitive to American public opinion and congressional sentiment. This fact was brought home to me dramatically during the second week in July when the Fraser Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives held public hearings into the state of human rights in Thailand.

One of the people offering testimony was Stewart Meacham of the American Friends Service Committee, a long-time public figure of the peace movement. Three days later I heard from a reliable source in the U.S. embassy in Bangkok that Meacham's testimony had been extremely effective and had really shaken things up in the Thai government's inner councils.



chooses. Such Article 21 prisoners are never charged or tried for any offense; they are merely sentenced. Six people have recently been executed under Article 21, including one suspected drug trafficker who was shot when American presidential envoy Peter Bourne was in Bangkok.

This was intended to demonstrate to the U.S. the seriousness of Thailand's efforts to stop the drug traffic.

Following the execution, President Carter sent a special message to Prime Minister Thanin saying, "I want to express my special thanks and admiration for the deep commitment you have made to deal with the narcotics problem.... The entire world community joins in applauding your efforts." Meanwhile, in Bangkok, widespread speculation that the executed man had in fact been innocent was fueled by the lack of trial or due process.

Military aid.

The U.S. provided a total of \$541.1 million in direct and indirect military and economic aid to Thailand last year, of which \$81 million was in direct military assistance, more than to any other country in southeast Asia. When Thai helicopters strafe peasants who leave the strategic hamlets, they are using American helicopters, and the planes that bombed the Mae Ped Forest on May 15 were American. Many of Thailand's military officers were

No one can predict with certainty what form future American military involvement in Thailand will take five or ten years from now—or, indeed, whether there will even be such involvement.

One possibility is that as Thai insurgency increases, the U.S. will directly commit its armed forces, just as it did in Vietnam. Some people argue that this path is not likely, especially after the ignominious defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam.

A second possibility is that the U.S. will attempt "clandestine," or Angola-style military intervention, involving a massive CIA presence, American-trained mercenary forces, either foreigners or indigenous hill-tribes people of Thailand, and a large outlay of American funds.

A third possibility is that Thai insurgency will continue to grow only moderately and that American military aid to Thailand will continue to grow proportionately. In such a case one might expect the U.S. eventually to make available to Thailand some of the highly-sophisticated "automated battlefield" technology developed and first deployed in Vietnam.

Phillip Kunstadt was a Vietnam-era draft resister. He lives in Providence, R.I., where he conducts a peace education program. This summer he participated in a three-month fact-finding trip to south and southeast Asia.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

The Democratic Agenda Conference

On November 11-13, the Democratic Agenda Conference will convene in Washington, D.C., centering its attention upon building a movement to restore the U.S. to a full employment economy.

The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) has played the leading role in conceiving the Agenda idea and planning the conference. Regardless of one's attitude toward DSOC, it must be recognized that the Agenda movement is a worthy one, and that the array of the conference's sponsors, speakers, and anticipated delegates mark it as a notable event in American political history.

The sponsors and speakers include "new" labor leaders like Murray H. Finley and Joyce Miller (Clothing and Textile Workers), Jerry Wurf (AFSCME), William W. Winpisinger (Machinists), and Douglas Fraser (UAW); left Democrats like Bella Abzug, Robert W. Kastenmeier, and Paul Soglin; black leaders like representatives Ronald V. Dellums and John Conyers, and Georgia state legislator Julian Bond; women leaders like Elizabeth McPike, Heather Booth, and Gloria Steinem; and social economists like Gar Alperovitz, Jeff Faux, Robert Lekachman and Stanley Sheinbaum. The delegates are expected to come from a similar broad range of constituencies throughout the country.

The conference itself is significant for at least two reasons. First, it indicates the increasing willingness of leaders of popular movements in America to associate themselves publicly with an avowedly socialist organization. Second, it signals the convergence of powerful sectors of the labor movement with black, women's and other such movements, upon a search for a common political program in opposition to the corporate status quo. This could be the basis of a potent democratic left in American politics that was absent in the 1960s.

Good starting point.

The Agenda conference and its movement potential tends to confirm IN THESE TIMES' political perspective. We anticipate the convergence of popular forces, including organized labor, in a movement against Corporate Power, and a growing recognition that socialism affords the only alternative to the corporate order consistent with American traditions of liberty, equality, and social justice. We also anticipate the growing recognition by American socialists of the need to rethink their convictions in order to make socialism the champion of these traditions.

The Agenda conference's slogan, "There is no alternative to full employment," is a good starting point for the emergence of a democratic left moving in the direction of socialism. Since capitalism is incapable of providing sustained full employment, even loosely defined, the slogan implicitly declares that capitalism is no alternative. It follows that a movement truly committed to full employment must go beyond the limits of corporate reform, which has never produced full employment without war. Corporate reform leaves ultimate power over the economy and society in the hands of the corporate capitalists for whom full employment is anathema. Beyond corporate reform lies the program of replacing capitalism with a democratically controlled social investment system.

Three pitfalls.

The question remains whether the meaning implicit in the conference slogan will be made explicit—at the conference itself and in the movement following it. That in turn will depend largely on the role we socialists choose to play.

If we are timid or sectarian in the way we raise the issue, if we fail to relate the

issue to the deep American concern for democracy, for liberty as well as equality, then we will retard the growth of a socialist politics in America.

These are, we think, the three main pitfalls to avoid: timidity, sectarianism, and aversion to popular concern for democracy.

Timidity expresses itself among those socialists who still attach themselves to a strategy of "pressuring" the President to "keep his promises." That strategy diverts attention and energies from organizing a broadly based popular movement that can fill the city, state, and federal legislatures with committed partisans of an anti-corporate program. Given the present state of American politics, the President is the leader of the corporate system, and cannot be expected to go beyond the limits of corporate reform. In the present absence of a large anti-corporate legislative bloc the President cannot be expected to make even symbolic gestures in that direction. There is a compelling need to break up the "new solid South's" pro-corporate congressional bloc with anti-corporate representatives and to send them allies from the North and West. "Pressuring the President" detracts from this urgent task. But, equally important, it cannot succeed in raising with the American people in a clear-cut

way the issue of democratic social investment as against the present corporate system. It is a timid strategy that in leaning on the President instead of the people assumes the people are not "ready" for such sharpening of the alternatives before them.

Breaking away from timidity depends on whether we socialists can argue the need for a social investment system in a non-sectarian way. That would mean not refusing to join with others in a movement for full employment planning because we may have reservations concerning strategy or because it may not accord with doctrinal preconceptions. And it would mean conceiving social planning not in terms of, say, the Soviet or the Chinese experiences, nor in terms of a centralized bureaucratic technocracy, but in terms of self-government through elected legislative bodies, and the American federal tradition of local and regional initiative, trade unions, civic associations, and educational institutions. It would be a social planning conceived in terms of an experience that places the highest value on the sovereignty of the people as against the state or a party.

Socialism and democracy.

Non-sectarian socialist boldness, in short, would make socialism the champion of

American democracy as the only desirable route to a just society. Full employment would be guaranteed by the people providing for it themselves under an agenda of production and distribution for use and needs, instead of corporate production and distribution only for a handsome profit ("investment incentive") for the private few. It would be a socialism in which the people, through their electoral processes, would take responsibility for themselves and their society.

Given capitalism's incapacity to function without spawning both chronic unemployment and inflation, the movement for full employment must accept the responsibility for finding an alternative to capitalism, or it will succeed in neither revitalizing democracy nor establishing a healthy economy.

The Democratic Agenda conference holds good promise for the launching of such a movement. We urge our readers to attend the conference. Let us leave our timidity and sectarianism at home and go to Washington for a rendezvous with democracy. The time was never more urgent. See you there.

For information about the Democratic Agenda Conference, write to The Democratic Agenda, 853 Broadway, Suite 617, New York City 10003, or call (212) 260-3270.



Letters

Honestly, it's just incompetence

Editor:

I finally figured out that you are trying to turn readers away from electoral work. In the last year you have generously covered progressive candidates who are either supported by socialists or are socialist. A common denominator in these campaigns has been defeat. Reading about so many defeats will probably turn people away from electoral activity.

I can only conclude that this is your objective, since you have chosen to block out victories. Why else has there been no coverage of the overwhelming victory of Marxist attorney Ken Cockrel in the Sept. 13 primary for the Detroit city council? Certainly a socialist sitting on one of the few full-time city councils is worth a mention. Turn east, folks—Detroit lives!

—Tony Rothschild
Detroit NAM

Body freedom

Editor:

Your article on nude beaches in San Diego (*ITT*, Oct. 5), though interesting, tends to leave two false impressions—that nude beaches is primarily a civil rights issue without political implications; and that San Diego is unique.

Clothes-optional beaches involve civil liberties, like more “traditional” left causes, but the future and the present character of our society is also involved. We should recognize by now how a hegemonical ruling-class culture has long succeeded in fragmenting the forces opposed to it. This, by convincing people that class-based politics should “avoid becoming confused with” you-name-it: feminism, black power, ecology movements, consumer movements, prison reform, and so on. However, experience of the '70s shows that the more we broaden our politics to include the many issues agitating people, the stronger we become, and the more we find the common foe to be capitalism.

The free beaches struggle traces its theorization back to the radical psychiatric tradition of Freud, William Reich, Marcuse, and a spectrum of authors today. It focuses on the disalienation of the human being, and the persistence of authoritarian character-structure in the minds of people in capitalism. This is indispensable to left practice and theory.

Social acceptance of body freedom is occurring nationwide. A Guide to the Free Beaches and the promoting organizations is available by sending some contribution to: Free Beaches, P.O. Box 132, Oshkosh, Wisc. 54901.

—Lee Saxandall
Information Coordinator
Oshkosh, by gosh

Howe's that again?

Editor:

I was not moved by Bob Ross' “Lions and Lambs” about the recent SDS reunion. Maybe I have too many bad memories of the violence and self-destructiveness of the '60s. The invocation of religion, mysticism, ritual, and moon worship at the expense of political questions or a “bitter retrospect on the issue of sexism” to me is implicitly damning for a leftist.

As an antidote to such sentimental drive I suggest the drive in Irving Howe's courtship of widow Trilling (*New Republic*, Aug. 20). In an unconscious parody of Mao-talk Howe reveals a sudden reversal of the Dialectic: “During the 1940s/1950s the intellectuals in New York were largely right in directing

their heavy polemical fire against Stalinism and its covert allies. That the American Communist Party was too feeble to be a threat to freedom was an argument offered by those who thought too much was being made of the danger of Stalinism. But this argument was itself feeble. ...In the U.S. during the 1950s and then in the Nixon years, the major danger came from the right. Intellectually, Stalinism remained the big problem; politically, at home, it was the right that represented the bigger danger.” I just wish the Owl of Minerva would flutter her wings once in a while.

—Gene Damm
Albany, N.Y.

A need answered by turning the page

Editor:

Cheers for the Lifeitselfmanship course by Decca Treuhart and Pele (*ITT*, Oct. 5). The turgid jargon of leftism is one of the main reasons why the left has never gotten through to Americans. Quite apart from the incomprehensibility of much of the silly jargon, most people have a wise and rational fear of anything that is as humorless and uptight as most English-language left pronouncements.

I hope you will revive “The Factory” or run some other comic, for the same reasons.

Speaking of lamented losses: what ever happened to the world food column? I miss it greatly—I need it.

Joshua Dressler's column on motorcycle helmets and laetrile was excellent. But he did not make explicit the key reason why socialists should oppose laetrile and support motorcycle helmets: The enormous cost of cleaning up the resulting mess. This was brought home to me via my wife's nursing work. An enormous amount of hospital and medical-staff time is taken up with this job. Motorcycle accidents in which the victim lacked safety equipment, and cancer too long untreated or treated with quack remedies, are perhaps the two most slow, horrible, painful and expensive ways to go. Even if the libertarians are right and we should let damn fools kill themselves slowly, should they make the rest of us watch, pay (a lot of the victims are on public medical funds), and divert critically short medical facilities to them from others who had less choice?

—E.N. Anderson Jr.
Grand Terrace, Calif.

And Walt Whitman?

Editor:

I am heartily sorry to have offended John Cound by calling Whittier a bad poet, which he was. And social protest does not a poet make. If he chooses to think Whittier was “the only major poet of his time to voice social protest effectively,” we may wonder whatever became of Walt Whitman.

But I did not have to make a “strained effort” to disparage Richard Nixon; it was easy.

—Alvah Bessie
San Rafael, Calif.

Return to an individualism that never was

Editor:

Joshua Dressler's article (*ITT*, Oct. 5) stinks because it fails to point out the real danger behind the cool facade of the Libertarian party, which is a return to an individualism that never was, and that means social irresponsibility and power, not to the people but to the rich. Who is going to protect me from Henry Ford when all government agencies are gone? Better what we have now, as ineffective as it is, than a businessman's anarchy.

I am a socialist because I believe it is time to make legal what already is going on. Like two people living together, it is high time to accept the fact that all modern production is a social activity and that profits should be shared and distributed according to need and the contribution of the individual. I am a democratic socialist because I believe it is the people who should make the decisions

on how these products of labor should be spent and how capital should be invested, etc. It is because I am a democratic socialist that I find Dressler's article completely off base; if I ever free myself from the Rockefeller gang, I sure as hell don't want the Dressler gang to take their place! I believe cars and motorcycles should have installed the most modern safety equipment available and that its cost should not be passed on to the consumer. I am a biker and I wear a helmet; on it there is a sticker that says: “Helmet Laws Are Unconstitutional.” The helmets aren't: the laws are! The laws were passed by people who do not ride bikes; these are the same types who enforce all forms of repression in the U.S.

—Art Liebrez
Annandale, Va.

Would you ban smoking?

Editor:

I disagree with Joshua Dressler (*ITT*, Oct. 5).

No libertarian is telling motorcyclists they may not wear helmets. One would almost think that Dressler is charging libertarians with forbidding the use of helmets, from his sentence, “The average motorcyclist did not want the right to kill himself or herself.” Any motorcyclist is free to wear a helmet, in the absence of legislation on the subject.

During the 1920s, Oklahoma and North Dakota banned cigarette manufacture and sale. If it could be proved that cigarette smoking is harmful, then by Dressler's principle of forcing people to abstain from harming themselves, these Oklahoma and North Dakota laws would be fine laws.

—Richard Winger
San Francisco

Joshua Dressler replies:

Liebrez' reason for declaring motorcycle laws unconstitutional is unique. It follows from his theory that laws denying access to laetrile may only be written by legislators with cancer. As far as I know, only one senator would qualify.

As for Winger: Yes, I believe government has authority to prohibit cigarettes. But where the cost to enforce a law is prohibitive or its effectiveness doubtful, governments are wise not to legislate. The right to do something, and the wisdom in asserting that right are not always synonymous.

Libertarian socialism

Editor:

As a socialist I must take exception to Joshua Dressler's column (*ITT*, Oct. 5) in which he says that “socialists have apparently been flimflammed into preaching the libertarian creed.” If this were true the person responsible would be Karl Marx for it was Marx, among others, who held that “the state (any and every state) is an instrument of oppression” and that the socialist ideal is a world without oppression.

Dressler is confused about exactly what socialism and libertarianism are. But worse than this confusion is Dressler's clumsy and crude identification of “libertarianism” with the program of that pack of charlatans and know-nothings who have no connection with America's libertarian tradition but who call themselves the “Libertarian party” (formed only in this decade). Emma Goldman must be turning in her grave.

If Dressler, like many of your writers, were not innocent of knowledge of the political history of the left in the U.S. he would know that many libertarians and anarchists have made the connection between libertarianism and socialism by joining the Socialist party. This is the continuing party of Debs and Thomas which *ITT* so often ignores when they call for the founding of a socialist party in this country.

—John A. Archer
Secretary, Metropolitan
Columbia (D.C.) local
Socialist Party—USA

Can we trust the government?

Editor:

I was grieved to read in Joshua Dressler's column (*ITT*, Oct. 5) an attack on the principle of freedom of choice in the field of therapy. With cancer especially, the conventional treatments being so notoriously ineffective, the right and the opportunity to choose an alternative therapy are precious and important. There are quite a few systems of therapy besides allopathy, homeopathy, chiropractic and acupuncture, all with their adherents and successes, and all dubbed quackery by the medical powers that be. I will name a few: herbal, nutritional, water, magnetic, vibrational, tonal, color, mental and spiritual.

Can a socialist trust the agencies of government closely associated with the drug companies and the medical associations to test objectively a controversial substance like laetrile that is potentially inexpensive, costly in some cases now only because of the ban?

—Hugh W. Chaffin
Freeville, N.Y.

The right not to choose safely defended

Editor:

Joshua Dressler (*ITT*, Oct. 5) correctly points out the danger of socialists uncritically supporting the philosophy of the Libertarian party, since it opposes the social control of the means of production necessary in a modern industrial state. Branding this as undue “governmental interference” in an individual's right to conduct business as he or she sees fit, the Libertarian party advocates laissez-faire capitalism, in an era of oligopoly and multinationals.

Unfortunately, after this valid criticism, Dressler chooses to condemn those motorcyclists who would choose not to wear helmets. Whatever the merits of these safety devices, an individual should certainly be allowed the freedom of choice as to whether or not to use them.

Dressler is apparently unable to see the difference between a government's duty to ensure that a product, whether it be laetrile or a motorcycle helmet, be safe and functional, and forcing an individual to buy and use it.

Libertarianism is no solution to our society's problems, but neither is a socialism that seeks to impose the decisions of those who know what is best for us.

—Walt Noisoux
Albany, N.Y.

Read your own dissertation, Mark!

Editor:

Mark Naison's extensive discussion of the *Daily Worker's* sports section under Lester Rodney (*ITT*, Oct. 12) points out the contributions of this part of the paper and makes clear its contribution to eliminating the ban against blacks in the major leagues.

But Naison seems to believe that the Communist party gained its converts through the sports section. He writes that “the *Daily Worker* sports section was remarkably free of the sectarianism and obsession with Soviet models that characterized the rest of the paper.” Having read the *Daily Worker* during the period under discussion and frequently reread it in the course of research since, I found and still find that the reportage of labor and black issues in no way reflected this characteristic. I would in fact suggest that Naison reread his own doctoral dissertation which makes clear that during the heyday of the Communist party, its treatment of black issues indeed showed little of either sectarianism or obsession with Soviet models.

—Philip S. Foner
Professor of History, Lincoln
University, Pennsylvania

Correction: W.D. Ehrhart's article on Robert Lowell (*ITT*, Oct. 17) contained a typographical error of some importance. Lowell tried unsuccessfully to join the Navy in WWII.

Joshua Dressler

Free speech for the Nazis is for our own good

The recent discussion in *IN THESE TIMES* regarding the American Civil Liberties Union and its legal defense of the American Nazi party has been interesting, but it fails to tackle a significant related issue, the nature of law itself.

The debate began with an editorial (Sept. 7) supporting the ACLU's decision to represent the Nazi's right to demonstrate.

Reader response included that of Tanja Winter who condemned the *ITT* position as "muddle-headed" liberalism (Sept. 21). She argued that speech has never been free, and that laws have been selectively enforced, "usually against the left."

Then a letter, cosigned by 18 self-described "radicals and libertarians," some of whom are affiliated with *ITT*, appeared Sept. 28. It called the anti-ACLU position "authoritarian interference with expressions of ideas and attitudes they consider evil."

Now I jump into the fray.

First, one can be a socialist and support the ACLU position on this case. I do, and ironically I do so for the reasons Winter uses to reach the opposite conclusion. The left has historically been denied access to the streets and to the media—just as she said. Precisely because of that we must support the Nazis in this case. A decision against them is a bad precedent for us.

But my support of the ACLU and the

ITT position is narrow. Whereas the *ITT* and the group letter seem to see defense of free speech of the Nazis as an end of its own, I do not. To me it is a means to an end, free speech for the left.

I agree with Winter when she suggests that speech is not and never will be free. What I think she is trying to suggest is that law is not neutral, and cannot be in a class society. Engels wrote that "Justice is never anything but the ideologized, glorified expression of the existing economic relations, at times from the conservative side, at times from the revolutionary side." Anatole France put it more ironically when he said that "the law in its majestic equality forbids the rich as well as the poor from sleeping under bridges...and stealing loaves of bread to eat."

The point is that laws are written to punish the behavior of the "outs," right or left; even more clearly, laws are enforced selectively for that purpose. We punished marijuana when only the poor used it; we decriminalize it today because businessmen and lawyers and their children smoke it. We punish crime in the streets, but rarely crime in the suites. The man who urinates in the gutter is more harshly treated than the company that pollutes our rivers. We punish "violent" blacks but not mining corporations who send their workers into unsafe mines.

This is not intended as a catalogue of evils. Nor is it intended to suggest that Engel's theory is the one I, or even he,

would wish. It is, quite simply, the reality of any society with class differences. It is a reality that Clarence Darrow noted when he said that "laws are written by and for the rich, and they always will be as long as the rich are in power." To ignore this fact of life and to believe that the law is, or can be, even-handed, is wishful thinking at best.

Indeed, the ACLU's history belies its own "neutrality." In the 1950s, while those on the left clung to bare survival, the ACLU instituted its own loyalty oath, and purged its membership and Board of alleged Communists. We learned only this year that ACLU leaders surreptitiously and voluntarily gave information about its members to the FBI. Thus, when the going got tough, the ACLU was not neutral either.

Nonetheless, the ACLU and apparently some on the *ITT* staff, cling to the belief that law is neutral. To formulate our strategy on such an unrealistic concept of law is totally to ignore history, and to allow the future to repeat the past.

The correct strategy, I would submit, is not the ACLU's lets-assume-the-law-is-basically-equal approach, but rather the technique of groups like the National Lawyers Guild. The Guild is a legal professional organization that was formed in the '30s to protest the conservatism and racism of the American Bar Association. The Guild has never professed neutrality. It has, instead, supported and de-

fended the left—the labor left, the New and Old left radical organizations, and working class people in general.

Because the Guild is less "respectable"—it does not profess the myth of neutrality—its budget is comparatively small and its effectiveness muted. But, its direction is clear.

Lest I be misunderstood, I am not saying that the ACLU is not deserving of support. It is. The ACLU has worked long and hard for many causes we hold dear—opposition to the death penalty, criminal law reform, prison reform, to name a few. Moreover, in the '60s and '70s, the ACLU has quite consistently offered excellent, well-researched legal support for causes in which the left has been involved. Some of the finest legal briefs in important cases are authored by the ACLU. I am glad it is alive and well.

Socialists can and should work with libertarians on specific legal issues. This is important. But, radicals should realize that libertarians are not radicals, and that libertarians' views of the law are not generally those of the left. If we do not understand this subtle but crucial issue regarding the nature of "law" within our society, their strategy will become our strategy, and then the mistakes of the past will be visited upon us again in the future.

Joshua Dressler is associate professor of law at Hamline University Law School in St. Paul, Minn. His column appears regularly.



Roberta Lynch

Despite fragmentation and reverses the left has a chance to revive

Except to those who live solely in its innermost sanctuaries, the American left is neither a beacon nor a force. It has a patchwork history of visionary humanism and tragic shortsightedness, of principled action and unnecessary capitulation, of insightful analysis and imported doctrine. Today it is fragmented, nearly invisible, and frequently frustrated. It is plagued by dogmatists whose primary skill seems to be exegesis of sacred texts, political activists who are disdainful of left organization or theory, and a Greek chorus of political inactivists who perch on the sidelines dolefully chanting about what is really wrong with the movement.

At times it's probably enough to make you want to take your marbles (if you haven't already lost them) and go home. Please don't. I may be the perennial cock-eyed optimist, but I think there are other factors at work that promise better. Here and in future columns, I'll discuss three aspects that give cause for hope: the role of democracy; changes in grassroots organizing; and the women's and minority movements.

Optimism needs to be tempered, though, by a recognition of the limitations imposed by larger social forces. The possibilities for a renewed left are shaped fundamentally by popular insurgency. We will not really have a mass socialist movement, a political strategy of any depth, or a comprehensive vision until a working class movement—and women's and minority movements—provide the breadth of experience to call a new historic force into being.

The emergence of such movements is—to borrow a phrase—a dialectical process. We can contribute to creating the conditions that give rise to new movements. And we can begin now to develop the organization and perspective that could help to shape them when they do blossom. In these respects the issue of democracy is particularly vital.

Dividing line.

Many leftists I know tend to dismiss the more sectarian elements of the movement as "crazies" and to nurse pious hopes that if we just ignore them they will go away. This approach is proving about as effective as trying to pray away cancer. We are correct in wanting to stay clear of the doctrinaire squabbling and rhetorical name-calling that characterizes these groups' relationship to each other. But when they can run media-oriented electoral campaigns, hold local union offices, or have a presence in a mass organization like NOW, we cannot simply close our eyes to their existence. In some cases, they define what people know of socialism.

To be sure we could identify greater or lesser differences with each of the tendencies involved (the Communist party, the Maoists, and the Trotskyists). But one central issue provides a clear dividing line on the other side of which all of them stand: democracy.

With all their fierce antagonisms toward each other, they share a common lack of root concern for this issue.

Related Aspects.

There are four closely related aspects to consider: a vision of the future; attitude toward existing democratic rights; internal policies; and approach to organizing. On each of them these groups fall far short of any democratic ideal.

A vision of the future is closely linked to an analysis of the existing socialist countries. Are they models to be replicated? Of the sectarians only the Trotskyists have attempted a critique of the lack of freedoms in these countries. Most of the others simply offer empty paeons to the country with which they identify, while papering over its problems and limitations.

None of them have attempted to come to grips with American reality and to de-

velop an approach that builds on the rights that exist in this country. And nearly all of them have an internal structure that seems to have barely a nodding acquaintance with the most elementary democratic principles.

Finally, not only do most of these groups have an elitist conception of their roles as the sole guardians of the truth and the appointed leaders of the working class, but their approach toward organizing indicates an indifference to the kind of grassroots participation that is necessary for real democracy. They are usually far more obsessed with maneuvering to have their own line adopted than with honestly working to involve people and trying to change them in the process.

New path.

But a new path for the left will not emerge simply out of a critique of what's wrong (either with capitalism or with others on the left). It requires the building of a political tendency that can offer a compelling and cogent alternative to the current order. My optimism springs from a sense that we are involved in the beginning of such a process.

It starts from the recognition of the essential unity of socialism and democracy. It supports the achievements of the existing socialist countries, while remaining openly critical of their failings. Richard Healey, national secretary of the New American Movement, has argued that despite impressive improvements in people's lives in these countries, "genuine popular control over national policy and personnel is weak." His conclusions emphasize that in most cases they lack three interrelated elements—availability of information, independent popular organizations, and civil liberties—that are vital to socialist democracy (see *Moving On*, Sept. '77). New directions such as this are essential in

developing a frank response to anti-communist propaganda rather than simply ignoring it or succumbing to it.

However, many difficult questions remain: the meaning of socialism for religious freedom, multiple parties, the right to strike, and the process of the transition to socialism. Without perspectives on these and other issues that concern most Americans, we cannot adequately address questions of democracy.

Revolutionary change requires enormous risks. People are seldom willing to take them on the basis of vague notions. Granted we cannot have a blueprint for the future, but we can—and must—have more than a rough sketch.

To make our commitment to a future democracy meaningful, we need to develop a consistent approach to our defense of democratic rights in the present. The debate that emerged over free speech and the KKK over the past year was an important signal that such issues are being taken more seriously within the left.

There are also attempts underway to develop organizational forms that can combine effective action and democratic procedures. The recent NAM national convention indicated that the organization has come a long way in its ability to discuss political differences without splits or animosities and to foster wide participation both in decision-making and in practical work.

Finally, there are alternatives to manipulative and undemocratic approaches to mass organizing. I'll take these up in a future column.

In all of this, one fundamental fact is clear: corporate power rests on the equation of capitalism and democracy. Our task is to change that formula.

Roberta Lynch is a member of the National Committee of the New American Movement.



Frances Moore Lappe / Joe Collins

Food and development

Philippine banana boom



Can bananas make people hungry?

Bananas? An innocuous fruit. A posterous question. Yet we learned by visiting the latest banana frontier that, given the right conditions, the answer may be yes.

To economic planners in the Ferdinand Marcos government, bananas are a dream come true, an instant foreign exchange winner. In 1967 the Philippines exported less than 1 percent of its bananas. By the mid-1970s it was exporting more than half—nearly \$70 million worth.

The big winners in the Philippine banana boom are those who created it—U.S.-based multinationals like Del Monte, Castle and Cooke (Dole) and United Brands ("Chiquita"). In the late '60s these giants set their sights on the lucrative Japanese market where a single banana costs 25¢. They then discovered rich alluvial soils—perfect for growing bananas—along the southern coast of the Philippines' second largest island, Mindanao. Within five years, the Philippines replaced Ecuador and Taiwan as Japan's major banana supplier.

Multinational agribusiness did not introduce bananas to the Philippines; small, sweet local varieties had long been a staple of the Filipino diet.

The corporations did introduce the bigger, tougher, blander Cavendish variety—perfect for long distance travel and for export.

The multinationals offered willing landowners "growers agreements" whereby the corporations would supply credit and technical advice and guarantee the grower the current f.o.b. (freight on board) price for bananas. Filipino landowners were only too happy to sign up. But to meet the stipulations of the multinational marketers, the would-be entrepreneurs needed more land. Since 1969, 22 local banana operations have together amassed 56,000 acres in southern Mindanao. Now their biggest worry is over-production. As much as 40 percent of all bananas grown for export are dumped to avoid a market glut and lower prices.

The shift to banana production on Mindanao is part of a national trend: since 1960 the area devoted to food crops has been shrinking while the area in commercial crops has expanded to 35 percent of all cultivated land. Much of the land now producing bananas for export used to grow coconut, corn, rice and abaca (hemp), mostly for local use. Control of land in the Philippines is moving toward greater concentration. Marcos excluded land growing export crops from his agrarian "reform" and actively courts foreign corporations like Del Monte, Dole and United Brands. The incentives that these corporations in turn have offered the local elite, has created almost overnight a several-tiered plantation system in southern Mindanao, and, in its wake, many newly landless.

Why do local small farmers give up their land? If they are tenants, they have no choice. They are simply told to get off the land to make way for bananas. Small independent farmers, on the other hand, are offered from \$20 to \$40 per acre per year for the use of their land. To lure the peasant farmers, the new banana entrepreneur often presents this rent in a lump sum equal to five to ten years advance. Thus, \$2,000 to \$3,000 might be offered, more than a peasant farmer may ever have seen.

Many accept the temptation, but soon the lump sum is spent. At this point the banana entrepreneur returns to say that the advance was really a loan. This loan is now due, he explains, with 13-14 percent interest. The intimidated peasant, too poor to repay, is forced to sell his land for very little.

The banana growers contracting with multinational companies sometimes per-

sue smallholders to give up their land by offering them "a better life" as plantation workers, although only a few displaced farmers find jobs on the plantations.

The "better life," for those lucky enough to get housing turns out to be crowded, attached bungalows or barracks with bunks stacked three high. Married couples sometimes must live separately and see each other only on Saturday night. Wages for workers average less than \$1.50 a day, while food for an average family costs an estimated \$1.70.

Wages for banana workers accounts for about 1 percent of the retail price of the bananas sold in Japan. Discovering this, we asked a local grower why he didn't double wages. Wouldn't it only slightly affect costs? "Oh no," he said, "we couldn't do that. The workers would start buying appliances and figure out ways to rig up electric outlets. Our electric bills would go up."

The banana growers rely on heavy use of pesticides to produce blemish-free fruit because, as one manager told us, "The Japs eat with their eyes." Pesticides are applied to trees every three days and to each bunch of bananas as they are packed. Twice each month aerial spraying blankets everything below.

Workers are told there is no hazard—and then they watch the supervisors run for cover when the planes come. One pregnant packinghouse worker showed us a large lesion on her leg, caused by being accidentally sprayed with fungicide by a fellow worker. And we were told that a local pathologist had recorded heightened chlorinesterase levels in the blood of plantation workers, a condition that leads to nervous system deterioration.

The clinic also offered birth control "advice." On one Del Monte-contracted plantation the nurse bragged that the clinic had completed 100 vasectomies in recent months. "I'm not alone in this," she explained. "I have the help of the personnel manager," who apparently "advises" workers to be sterilized as a condition of employment.

The changes in rural life brought about by the new plantation economy produce victims whose lives are even more precarious than the banana workers'. Many are forced to work on the Davao docks. These would-be stevedores only hope for survival is a few days' work a week loading banana boats.

One morning at daybreak we talked to a group of such men as they waited to learn who was going to be hired that day. Out of 1,000 registered, 50 were chosen. Knowing that it may well be their only chance to work that week, those who are chosen often work 24 hours straight. The stevedores average only about \$5.50 a week, one-fourth their minimum need. The men load bananas into refrigerated ships. Too poor to purchase jackets or gloves, many contract pneumonia and TB.

We asked the stevedores what kind of job they would most want. They replied, "We want land." Many said they had had land—before the bananas came. "We want to work out own land. Just four or five hectares would be enough. Then we could feed our families."

Who is responsible?

The multinational investors—Del Monte, Castle and Cooke (Dole) and United Brands ("Chiquita")—have devised a system whereby they can deny all responsibility. They don't own the land, they don't evict the tenants, they don't manage the workers, the corporations will tell you. But these denials overlook one fact: it is their investment that makes it profitable for the local elite to expand their hold over the land. Investment by multinational agribusiness generally reinforces the economic domination of the pre-existing

elite—Philippine bananas are no exception.

The multinational investors claim that they have helped earn foreign exchange for the Philippines by turning bananas into the country's sixth most important export. The foreign exchange earned is put to use, it is true. In Manila we saw 14 new high-rise hotels (more than half empty), a mammoth new convention center and a new cultural center. We learned that in 1977 alone the Marcos government has allocated over \$70 million to arms purchases from the U.S.

But foreign exchange does not contribute to development for the majority of Filipinos. The percentage of rural families whose food expenditures are below the minimum nutritional threshold increased from 39 to 48 percent in the eight years following 1965. The real income of workers has fallen by at least 30 percent since 1972.

The corporations also suggest that more than 20,000 jobs can be attributed to their promotion of banana exports. But what about the jobs of small farmers and tenants that were eliminated? And how secure are even these 20,000 jobs when the allegiance of their "creators" is not to the people of the Philippines but to the country offering the lowest production costs? Right now Ecuador, Taiwan and Malaysia are gearing up to capture the already saturated Japanese banana market from the Philippine producers. When the competition gets tough, what is to keep the multinational firms from simply dropping Philippine bananas and going elsewhere?

Moreover, the claim that banana plantations provide jobs ignores the fact that maximizing the productivity of people growing food first for themselves can employ at least twice the number of people working per acre as on a banana plantation.

The Philippine banana story might lead some to despair. We, however, came back feeling hopeful. Why? Because of the people we met. Today in the Philippines many committed and disciplined people, building on a long history of struggle, profoundly understand the causes of the suffering of their people. We met workers who could analyze the structure of control over their lives and convey it in the most straightforward and persuasive terms to their fellow workers.

Philippine resistance is not limited to intellectuals or to students, nor is it limited to peasants spontaneously revolting against their situation. Many disparate groups in the Philippines are working side by side. They have in common a willingness to risk their lives, not simply to overthrow the Marcos dictatorship or to oust a particular multinational firm, but to create a democratic and non-exploitative society.

*Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins co-direct the Institute for Food and Development Policy, 2588 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94110. Lappe is the author of *Diet for a Small Planet*. In July 1977, Houghton Mifflin published their new book, *Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity*. Their column appears more or less regularly in IN THESE TIMES.*



The Great Upheaval revisited

ONE-HUNDRED YEARS AGO, IN JULY 1877, THE FIRST NATIONWIDE STRIKE swept the U.S. in what is known among historians as the "Great Upheaval" of 1877.

The Illinois Labor Society invites the public to commemorate this poorly known but important historic event, the most significant aspects of which took place on Chicago's south side, then and now known as Pilsen.

A dramatic production, "Sounds of Struggle," performed by the Labor Theatre of Actors Equity will be presented on Sunday, Oct. 30, at 2:30 p.m. in the auditorium of Jones Commercial High School at ceremonies recalling the events of 1877. Jones High School is at 606 S. State Street in Chicago. Professor William Adelman of the University of Illinois Circle Campus, will present the historical background to the theatrical performance, which draws on speeches, official reports, and news accounts of the confrontations that took place between thousands of strikers and sympathizers with city police and federal troops. An epilogue draws on the experience of present-day members of the Mexican-American community who today live in the same area of the city. Many of the issues that sparked the "Great Upheaval" of a century ago are still critical in the Pilsen neighborhood of today.

Tickets at \$5.00 for adults (\$3 for children, students, and retired) may be ordered from Rochelle Hart, Chicago Teachers Union, 201 N. Wells Street, Chicago 60606. Checks should be made to the Illinois Labor History Society.

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Saturday, Dec. 3, 1977

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A G E N D A PLENARY SESSIONS

BEGIN: NINE A.M.

*POPULAR SOCIALISM IN THESE TIMES

James Weinstein Editor, *IN THESE TIMES*
Martin J. Sklar Associate Editor, *IN THESE
TIMES*

*NEW TIMES FOR LABOR?

Liz McPike National Board, Democratic
Socialist Organizing Committee
Former Illinois Co-Director,
American Federation of State,
County and Municipal Employees

*A DEMOCRATIC ENERGY PROGRAM FOR AMERICA

Barry Commoner Center for the Biology of
Natural Systems,
Washington University

WORKSHOPS

BEGIN: TWO-THIRTY P.M.

*CHICAGO POLITICS—BUILDING A NEW POLITICAL MAJORITY

Don Rose Political Journalist and Organizer
Vernon Jarrett Chicago Tribune Columnist

*ORGANIZING WORKING WOMEN— PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

Day Creamer Director, Women Employed
Clara Day Vice President, National Coalition
of Labor Union Women
Business Agent and Trustee,
International Brotherhood of
Teamsters, Local #743

Mary Jean Collins Field Representative,
Illinois Nurses Association

*THE KLAN—RACISM— AND FREE SPEECH

(Sister) Gabriel Herbers, RGS Executive
Coordinator, The Alliance
to End Repression

Lou Palmer Journalist and Radio Commentator
David Hamlin Executive Director, Illinois Div.
American Civil Liberties Union

*THE ARMS RACE—DOOMSDAY OR SURVIVAL?

Sam Day Editor, Bulletin of Atomic Scientists
Betty Bono Coalition for a New Foreign and
Military Policy

*THE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM—CAN IT BE REFORMED?

Vincent Navarro Editor, international Journal
of Health Services
Dept. of Health Care Org.,
Johns Hopkins University

John McKnight Center of Urban Affairs,
Northwestern University

*CARTER—WHAT CAN HE DO FOR CAPITALISM?

Prof. Carl Parrini Department of History
Northern Illinois University
Alan Wolfe Author

CELEBRATION ★ RALLY

BEGINS: SEVEN-THIRTY P.M.

STUDS TERKEL Author, *WORKING,
TALKING TO MYSELF*
ED SADLOWSKI *Steelworkers Fight Back,*
*United Steelworkers of
America*
JOHN CONYERS Representative, 1st District,
Michigan

BEGINS: NINE-THIRTY P.M.

Return of the Kalif

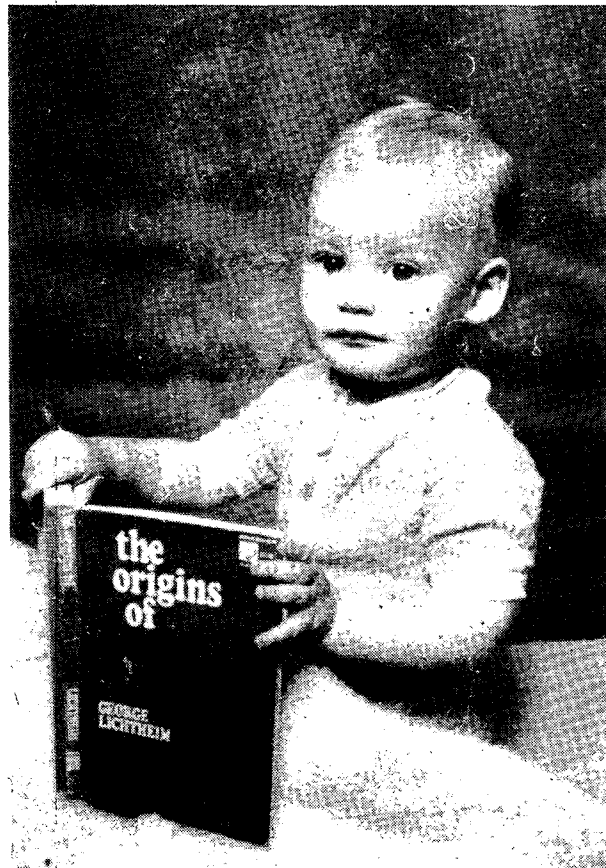
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LIFE IN THE U.S.

ENGINEERING

Why nothing seems to work

By Rasa Gustaitis
Pacific News Service

San Francisco commuters are still complaining that their space-age, multi-million dollar BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit) is a malfunctioning boondoggle, if not downright dangerous.

And pedestrians in downtown Boston still look apprehensively skyward when passing the towering John Hancock Building, for fear those popping windows will one day hit a target.

Why is it that so many of our most sophisticated technological achievements continue to be plagued by near disasters? Why doesn't anything work anymore?

Eugene S. Ferguson, curator of the Hagley Museum in Greenville, Del., believes he has the answer. The problem, he says, is that the engineers who design today's technological behemoths no longer conceive them visually. The computer has been substituted for human vision.

Ferguson predicts that the problem will only get worse. "The more complex the machinery, the more often it will be out of order," he says.

"Something that the man in the street knows but most of our technicians don't is that much of machinery is out of order much of the time. The assumption of the engineer is that it will work."

Failure to see whole picture.

In engineering schools visual design courses that cultivate perception are being squeezed out by scientific analysis and computer mathematics, Ferguson has observed. Consequently, engineers can calculate but often can't use their designs in relation to their context.

This failure to see whole pictures leads to fiascos such as those that have afflicted the highly automated BART system, which has malfunctioned in alarming ways. Doors have opened while trains were moving. Trains have zoomed past stations without stopping, carrying anxious commuters to the end of the line. Electronic monitors have failed to detect a train on a track, threatening rear-end collisions.

The management finally resorted to a very old-fashioned safety measure: phoning ahead, station to station, to warn of on-coming trains.

BART "is a classic result of systems engineering uninformed by minds that can visualize the mundane things that can go

wrong," Ferguson wrote in a recent issue of *Science* magazine. "Absurd random failures that have plagued automatic control systems are not merely trivial aberrations; they are reflections of the chaos that results when design is assumed to be primarily a problem in mathematics."

Much creative thought in design is visual. Its language is in pictures that cannot be translated into words or equations.

Without visual design skills, engineers can calculate but often can't place their design in relation to its real-life context.

"Pyramids, cathedrals and rockets exist not because of geometry, theory of structure or thermodynamics, but because they were first a picture—literally a vision—in the minds of those who built them," Ferguson argues.

Artists and engineers.

Many of the great technological designers in history have also been artists. Leonardo da Vinci may be the best known among them, but in his time he was not alone. In Renaissance engineering, art—not science—was the guiding discipline, according to Ferguson.

Even into the 19th century, some of the great technological designers were also artists. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, a prominent consulting engineer and architect, was an accomplished watercolorist. Robert Fulton, known for his steamboat, and Samuel Morse, inventor of the electric telegraph, turned from careers in art to technology.

Using their intuitive sense of rightness and fitness, designers created the suspension bridge, the clock, the motorcycle. The notion that scientific information alone shaped them is "a bit of modern folklore," says Ferguson.

Yet in recent decades, as the scientific component of technology has expanded, the trend has been away from non-verbal thinking and toward verbal and mathematical analysis. Nonverbal thought is now generally viewed as less rigorous

and useful than cognitive reasoning.

"There may still be engineering graphics courses in some schools," says Ferguson, "but they are going out as the new breed comes in and the old dies out."

Engineering students used to be assigned exercises that required them to think in ways that could not be reduced to mathematics: design a container for an egg that will let it drop three stories without breaking; design a wheelchair that will go up stairs. They used to work a lot with three-dimensional models.

Sense of "fitness."

Now, says Ferguson, engineers learn the computer approach to drafting and designing. This requires them to convert mathematical descriptions to pictures in their minds. In the process, they can easily lose sight of the whole amid the scattered parts.

Ferguson began to understand the problem, he says, one snowy day when he boarded the modern high-speed Metroliner in New York only to find that all trains that day were being pulled by slow 40-year-old engines. The new engines were out of service because the designers of the sophisticated control gear had failed to consider that, during a snowstorm, the fan that sucks in air would also suck in snow.

He realized that failure to consider such simple possibilities also lay behind many of the failures of BART. It also helped him understand why the John Hancock Building in Boston kept popping out windows until an expensive stabilizer was devised on top.

The current "systematic but intellectually impoverished engineering approach" to design is leading to a technology that is devoid of a "sense of fitness," says Ferguson. For instance, it is not fitting during this time of high unemployment, he argues, that automatic fare cards be used in transit systems instead of human ticket salespeople.

It also is not reasonable, he says, "that a man who earns \$6 an hour on an assembly line should be forced to have someone come in to replace a part on his washing machine. That machine could be designed simply so he could fix it himself by changing a washer, but to do so would be bad corporate policy."

Rasa Gustaitis, is an associate editor for Pacific News Service.

(off the record)

By Sidney Blumenthal
and Danny Schechter

Informed Sources

Even before Carl Bernstein's story was published in *Rolling Stone* about how 400 American journalists worked in one capacity or another for the CIA newspaper editors were issuing flat denials.

It seems doubtful whether the public will ever know the full extent of CIA-media collusion. This latest revelation received scant interest in the dailies and was consistently downplayed, relegated to back pages. When the Senate Intelligence Committee was looking into these charges over a year ago the papers also dealt with the story skittishly.

The *New York Times* reported on the Bernstein story: "Much of the information in the article about purported relationships between reporters and the Agency...has been reported previously by the *Times* and other publications." The *Times*, however, dropped its investigation after the CIA assured it that none of its reporters were on the Agency payroll.

Actually, Bernstein does present new

facts. A dismissive attitude on the part of the *Times* and other publications will not make them evaporate. One of the incidental consequences of Bernstein's story is that the *Times* has renewed its request to the CIA for names of its reporters who might also have served the Agency. Does this sound like the *Times* is taking Bernstein seriously? Perhaps its attempts to publicly diminish the significance of his report shows that it does.

The importance of the inquiry is not necessarily to expose the names of CIA-sponsored journalists, but rather to detail the nature of the CIA-media relationship. Names are important, but the name of the game is even more illuminating. The intelligence community is deeply involved in monitoring and influencing the news received by unwary readers. Stories in *Time* and *Newsweek* citing "Western intelligence sources" as the only sources in foreign reports indicates a glimmering of what this relationship is about.

Part of this shrouded CIA-media alliance is rooted in shared perspectives, social worlds and even expensive lunches. Many top media executives float in and

out of high governmental posts—John Chancellor of NBC was chief of the Voice of America, for instance—helping to create a seamless point of view.

Controlling the flow of foreign news is not difficult since it comes to the American audience from a narrow number of sources. "Approximately 75 percent of the news most Americans read [and hear] is provided by Associated Press and United Press International," the *Los Angeles Times* reports. Both UPI and AP are listed by Carl Bernstein as being CIA-tainted. Only the hierarchies of these operations and others need be penetrated or influenced in order for the Agency game-plan to be effective.

Outside direction is probably superfluous since almost all media are already supportive of the essential multinational corporate strategies for dealing with and reporting the world. The *Christian Science Monitor*, in a recent stark example, editorialized in favor of capitalism. "The honorable fruits of capitalism are the best defense of what is still the soundest economic system the world has devised," the paper baldly stated.

Jane Melnick



A bird lies stunned after crashing into McCormick Place in Chicago. The designers of McCormick Place made the largest entertainment center in the world, but neglected to consider the fates of thousands of birds that crash into the dark glass every year.

Coors strike

Continued from page 5.

Criswell's experience with the Coors empire, which encompasses a construction company, a can and bottle plant and a paper company in Boulder, Colo., goes back to 1973 when he was given a temporary job as a bricklayer in their construction division. Within a year he was a victim of a mid-winter layoff, so when the company offered him and 20 others a job in the brewery he jumped at the chance.

For the next two years he moved from department to department—from the brew house to the filtering department to the water storage plant to the fermenting department, where he became a

Coors called the workers together and told them how he was going to do everything in his power to make Colorado a right to work state and defeat all unions.

"yeast pitcher." By July 1976 he was so sick of the whole thing that he applied for management training "in the hopes of getting a job on the outside and traveling."

After a month-long training period, he was made coordinator of "Operation Control," a new branch that "handles anything that has a negative effect on the sales or distribution or production of the beer. It also deals with security. I had authority to shut down the plant for a given reason," he explains.

Coors had definite ideas, however, about what was sufficiently dangerous to warrant a shutdown of the whole facility. "We were in charge of anything that would happen in regards to bomb threats," he says. "I was instructed to clear only that immediate area where anything would be. So if the next department might not be affected, I was not to let them know anything about it."

"What they really didn't want was to slow up production and I didn't feel like that was a just cause. If you're dealing with something like bombs, it's far safer to have everyone out of the area completely."

Sought out information.

Increasingly disgusted with Coors' "philosophy and attitude," Criswell began using his position to obtain information on Coors' operations. When he and his secretary began checking the names and addresses of company employees, they discovered a "huge amount of people that were interrelated—all Caucasian. We could not come up with anybody who had a supervisors job for more than a year who was a Chicano, a woman or had a common Jewish last name," he says.

"We also concluded that no women were working in the production departments prior to 1971 and that about 90 percent of the minorities were paid very close to minimum wage. An awful lot of the lower jobs were filled by minorities."

"There are Chicano supervisors who work there now," Criswell adds, "but it's tokenism."

Criswell's explorations also turned up some income tax procedures, going back four to five months, that had to be changed to conform with federal regulations. But his department head refused to take any action. When he mentioned it to another boss, "it came down that we were to bury that information and destroy the records. We said we wouldn't do it. And since we stuck to our opinion, it was decided that it would be best to transfer us out," he says.

"After these experiences and the whole bizarre atmosphere, I felt it was best to

try and go back to the calm and quiet of the union side."

Anti-union campaign.

It was only "calm and quiet," however, until Hurricane Bill Coors swept into action. In December 1976 he held his annual meeting with employees—affectionately called the "Christmas meeting"—and "announced that he was going to take on the unions and that the Teamsters, especially, were not going to have any authority whatsoever. He told how he was going to do all he possibly could to make Colorado a right-to-work state and defeat all the unions in the areas where he sells beer. He would not have the company out of the hands of his family and would not be told how to run his business."

When their contract expired in January, Criswell's local had to comply with Coors-sponsored state legislation that requires a union to gain the approval of 75 percent of those it represents in order to remain certified. "They held the voting in a construction area where there was no lighting, no wall structures up or anything else. Since it was new, people were not really aware of where it was. Even the ballot was worded in such a way that it confused those without PhDs," Criswell says.

Coors contact.

Nonetheless, the union received 92 percent of the vote. Bill Coors was reportedly enraged and reacted by trying to install his own contract.

"Not the contract the union had been bargaining, nor the contract he said he wanted. It was brand new," says Criswell. The contract provided for lie detector tests for employees, departmental seniority (which employers routinely use to get rid of unwanted workers), physical examinations upon request and a change in shift differential payments (*ITT*, May 3).

When members of Local 366 walked out, Coors replaced them with office personnel who had been trained for the last year and a half to fill key production positions. Vacations were cancelled and new employees worked 12-hour days, seven days a week.

"As a result, they've destroyed about \$2 million worth of beer. Recently one guy opened the caustic valve and they had to dump out \$80,000 worth of beer. We really don't have to level the plant—his people are going to do it inside," Criswell says.

To build the boycott the union gained the support of the AFL-CIO and contacted Chicano groups, which have been fighting Coors for years to force them to begin hiring minorities for higher company positions. "That's why we thought a boycott could be successful—the Chicanos and blacks are still being discriminated against. The lie detector tests and psychological evaluation tests are tools they use to keep minorities out," Criswell says.

Attack on right.

Criswell now travels across the country, on \$25 per week, organizing support for the boycott. He and other organizers view it both as battle for the human rights of Coors' workers and as a blow against Coors growing network of right-wing organizations. Coors is a major source of funds for the American right, says Criswell, and is connected to Anita Bryant's Save Our Children in Florida, Ronald Reagan's campaign efforts, the John Birch Society, and the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress. (In 1971 Joe Coors quit the National Association of Manufacturers because it was too liberal; he rejoined in 1973 when a Coors man was installed as senior vice president.)

"We have got to organize people to stop the flow of his beer," Criswell says. "If the boycott works, we are not only defeating Coors, we're defeating the right-wing Republicans and we're showing them that they can't just go in with dollar bills and take over every state they touch and make them right-to-work states. Please go home and get the beer off the shelves."

THRILLS, CHILLS AND SPILLS AT THE U.S. GRAND PRIX

Continued from page 24.

at least several miles long, demands precision work by mechanics and near-perfect concentration by drivers.

Near-perfect luck is required too. Englishman Tom Pryce died in this year's South African Grand Prix after his car struck an anxious race official who had run into his path. The official, who was carrying a fire extinguisher to a wrecked car burning alongside the track, was killed on impact. Pryce apparently died an instant later when the fire extinguisher struck his head. His car sped on, colliding with another before being demolished as it reeled off the track at a sharp turn.

For their participation in so risky a business, Grand Prix drivers often are seen as fatalists. Almost unanimously, they disagree, asserting that—bad luck aside—they are in control on the track.

Conservatives.

Jackie Stewart, the all-time most successful Grand Prix driver and the author of a highly revealing autobiography, *Faster!* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1972), has said he has never known a driver to suffer an emotional breakdown. Most drivers, he maintains, take few uncalculated risks—on the track or off. They are business-minded and politically conservative.

"To drive a racing car, you must be conservative. You cannot be a radical, someone who's given to spontaneity or enthusiasms," Stewart says.

A charming and articulate Scotsman, Stewart was a guest of royalty and the leading capitalists of Europe during a nine-year career that ended with his retirement at age 34 in 1973. Largely through product endorsements and television appearances, he made nearly \$1 million per year at his peak.

Stewart's 27 lifetime victories established a record that may not be equalled. Only one currently active driver, 28-year-old Niki Lauda of Austria, seems to have much chance of catching him.

Return from the dead.

Lauda, with 15 triumphs, was named the top driver of 1975 and appeared on his way to a similar honor in 1976. Then last August in Nurburgring, Germany, he nearly became the tenth driver to die on an unusually lengthy (14-mile) course, long regarded as the most treacherous on the Grand Prix schedule.

In a fiery three-car crash, his lungs were scorched by the heat of flames that horribly disfigured his face. He was not expected to live. A priest administered last rites over him.

Lauda says he heard the priest, understood him and decided he liked the challenge of trying to stay alive. Astonishingly, he was back in competition within six weeks.

Lauda's face advertises racing's perils. The fire left him missing part of an ear and some of his hair. Much of his once pale, boyish facial skin has been replaced by withered scar tissue.

Lauda's driving ability, on the other hand, seems unchanged: he arrived at Watkins Glen, the fifteenth of 17 Grand Prix races this season, needing just a sixth-place finish to clinch another driving title.

Corporate backers.

In a prerace poll of drivers Mario Andretti (one of three Americans among the 26 entrants) was picked as most likely to win because his fast, but oft-troubled car was in unusually good shape.

Andretti's machine is bankrolled by a cigaret manufacturer. Others have financial backing from the suppliers of wine, travelers checks, magazines and an assortment of automotive goods. In exchange, the cars bear the insignia of their patrons. Thus, each time a car is shown on film or

in a photograph, its sponsor gets exposure too.

Raymond D. Saunders, general manager of Kendall Oil, proclaims his company's decades of racing sponsorships have "given [us] a million lines of publicity in the car books, the daily press and national magazines."

But perhaps no one puts more money into racing than the sport's customers. Admission to the 1,100-acre Watkins Glen complex costs up to \$23 per person. An additional \$50 is required for a seat at the start/finish line.

But while the prices are far greater than at most other athletic events, so, too, are the diversions. In addition to the Grand Prix, there are vintage car parades, celebrity races (with George Plimpton demonstrating he has failed to master still another sport), film festivals, rock bands, skydivers and Penthouse Pets.

The Bog

And there is the Bog, a barren plot where violence is the main attraction.

Unwary motorists who venture near the Bog on Grand Prix eve, when some 2,000 celebrants spend at least part of their evening there, are likely to find themselves surrounded by rock and bottle throwing 18 to 21-year-olds who delight in smashing windshields and frightening passengers.

Unlocked cars are stolen from their parking places, pushed to the Bog and burned. No less than a half-dozen cars, including a 1977 Capri and a 1976 Plymouth, were destroyed there this year; once a bus was burned.

The \$2 Grand Prix official program, published by the local nonprofit corporation that sponsors the race, contains advertising for T-shirts exhorting "The Bog Wants You." And the Bog's violence occurs with little interference from Watkins Glen security personnel. Security team members were on hand at the Bog on Grand Prix morning—in time to guard the charred remains of cars destroyed the night before.

"Those goons in the riot squad can't do shit to us," asserted Jerry, a 21-year-old Rochester resident who wore a Notre Dame sweatshirt and said he was unemployed. "Man, the Bog belongs to the people. You come to the Bog, you ought to know what to expect. You can't get mad just because you get a little roughed up or your car gets a little dented."

Never seen the race.

As he spoke, Jerry was helping his two companions load the pickup truck in which the three had arrived. The mid-afternoon race was nearly five hours away, but they and other were preparing to leave long before its start. "Watch the race, you kidding?" Jerry asked. "I've been coming here for three years and haven't seen one yet."

"Think we ought to take this home?" One of his friends held a hand-lettered sign inscribed "Show Us Your Tits." It was hardly original. Similar signs dotted the complex, where males probably outnumber females by at least 4-1 and unaccompanied young women are frequently taunted and sometimes molested.

Drunken rowdiness was nearly nonexistent by the time the first of 59 Grand Prix laps around the 3.4-mile course got underway. James Hunt was second to Hans Struck in the early going, then took the lead for keeps on the fifteenth lap when Struck was sidelined by mechanical woes.

Only a frantic late surge by runnerup Andretti kept the race from being a runaway.

Lauda, meanwhile, finished fourth to complete his successful title quest. No drivers were injured nor any cars badly damaged.

Out of their vehicles and relaxing for the first time all afternoon, Hunt, an Englishman, laughed when the Penthouse Pet of the Year called him an "All-American." Andretti, visibly disappointed at losing, explained he had "had to try" although one of his front tires was about to blow out on the final lap. And Lauda, whose mere presence perhaps symbolized a greater achievement than any of his racing victories, smiles patiently as he was praised.

All three look tired.

Bruce Pringle is a Delaware freelancer.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

Records



Comedian Steve Martin slips baloney into his shoes before going on for a performance and says he just "feels funny."

RICHARD PRYOR'S GREATEST HITS
Richard Pryor

LET'S GET SMALL
Steve Martin
Warner Brothers Records

How do you classify comedy albums? Where do you place them in relation to the rest of your record collection? In back with the Dylan Thomas recitations?

And how many times can you hear the same monologue? And if the jokes wear out fast, what future does the album have?

One thing this pair of albums does—each in its own way—is chronicle the moods of certain audiences in the '70s, and as such they are valuable bits of American history and slices of class consciousness. Another thing the Pryor record does is reveal the diversity of lives led by some of today's artists.

Richard Pryor leads at least three distinct professional lives at this moment. He is a fast-rising film star. He has a prime-time TV show for NBC. And he is still a night-club entertainer. In the first two personas, Pryor is playing to mass audiences and is governed by the censoring power of studios, directors and networks. In the small club, where he developed his humor and insight, Pryor is his own man: a black comedian, communicating to black audiences, speaking a common language, relating personal, but communal experiences.

Take, for example, his bit on the *Exorcist*.

"Did ya'll see *The Exorcist*? There would have been no movie if there was niggers in it. It would have been seven minutes long. The Devil would say 'hello... goodbye.'... See, a nigger would handle it differently. Nigger would have walked into the house and said, 'What the fuck is that funky smell and all that racket up there?'"

Don't hope to see that routine on TV or in the movies. There Pryor is playing race car drivers (*Greased Lightning*) and ball players (*Bingo Longo*). His triumphant mainstreaming means a toning down of delivery and content, enforced by the market place, which is preponderantly white.

If Pryor decides to concentrate his energies on his new careers, albums like *Greatest Hits* and

This Nigger's Crazy will become historical relics of an early stage in his work.

Steve Martin also appears on TV, but his humor has always been geared toward the white middle class, and his language and general tone do not require radical revision to meet the criteria of the mass media's censors.

Let's Get Small is a switch on the old "let's get high" line. Martin's humor is based on bizarre twists of the ordinary: e.g., how he gives his cat a bath—with his tongue. Or his bit on smoking:

"I don't mind smoking in night clubs, but when I'm in a restaurant and someone says, 'Mind if I smoke?'"

"No, do you mind if I fart? It's one of my habits. They have a special section for me on airplanes."

Martin says he is funny because he "slips baloney in his shoes before performances and just feels funny." And he is. But he lacks Pryor's lacerating vision.

Both artists know for whom they are gearing their material. Pryor's holds up to a greater number of listening.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann reviews regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.



LOVE YOU LIVE
The Rolling Stones
Rolling Stones Records

If there were a rock music equivalent of baseball's "Comeback of the Year" award, the Stones would win it for this live double album. "Love You Live," recorded in Paris and Toronto in late 1976 and early 1977, matches the Stones' magnificent record of their 1969 U.S. tour, "Get Your Ya Ya's Out!"

The reason "Love You Live" is so good is because it is dominated by the guitar playing of Keith Richards and Ron Wood. A master of the Chuck Berry-rhythmic-chording school of rock guitar—as opposed to single-note soloists in the B.B. King tradition

—Richards is the creator of the stunning riffs that have always been the Stones' trademark. In Ron Wood the band now has a second guitarist who can also play with that wonderfully controlled, hard, metallic sound that Richards perfected long ago.

Because of the similarity of their styles, Wood complements Richards much more than did his predecessor, Mick Taylor. I can't remember when I've heard anything as exciting as the interplay between the two guitarists on "Brown Sugar." The version here is faster and rougher than the original on the "Sticky Fingers" album, and receives what sounds like the biggest response of the concert from the appreciative Parisian audience.

Although there are only two songs on this album which the Stones have not recorded previously, it is apparent that the band is still progressing. This version of "Get Off of My Cloud," for example, shows a new and provocative approach to a Stones classic that is almost 12 years old. "Crackin' Up," one of the new songs, is a completely successful fusion of rock and reggae.

The only disappointment on four sides of music is the inclusion of "Fingerprint File," five minutes of one of the least inspiring songs the band has ever played.

Mick Jagger is still the leader and dominant personality of the Stones, but on this album at least his campiness is somewhat restrained. In the past Jagger's shenanigans have often detracted from the band's overall impact, but that is not the case here.

In recent years, the Stones have been noticed less for their music than for Mick and Bianca Jagger's jet-setting, Keith's repeated drug busts, and the sexist and sadistic ad campaign for their last album, "Black and Blue." These well publicized "items" have distracted attention from what has been a clear deterioration in the Stones' music.

"Love You Live," however, shows that the band has not lost its ability. I hope this musical renaissance will be accompanied by an end to the extra-musical bullsh—

—Bruce Dancis

Bruce Dancis writes regularly about rock and reggae music for *IN THESE TIMES*.

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Ed Sadowski



NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES

Diana Johnstone on the split in the French left. David Mandel from Israel; a police attack on striking Kentucky miners; the latest on "Son of

S-1"; trouble with the Los Angeles police department; art, movies, and poems from and about prisons.

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MUSIC

Vi Redd's alto sax soars with women's jazz quintet

Woman's place—if any—in a jazz combo has been at the standing mike, laying out the lyrics while the men are warming up for bravura instrumental solos.

Vi Redd can handle vocals with the best of them, but she is also a woman with a horn—an alto sax, to be specific. What's more, she was taught to play by another woman, her aunt Alma Hightower. (Redd comes from a musical family. Her father, Alton Redd, was a New Orleans drummer, playing with Kid Ory.)

She has been a featured soloist with Count Basie's orchestra, has toured with Earl Hines, has led her own quartet on the Los Angeles-San Francisco circuit. But with all her record albums currently out of print and gigs with her own group relatively rare, Redd has not been a full-time musical performer for some time. Now that seems to be changing.

Last August a segment of

PBS's "At the Top" was devoted to five women jazz musicians, led by pianist Marian McPartland. Redd played sax. Mary Osborne played guitar, Dotty Dodgion handled the drums and Lynn Milano, the bass. The show was so well received that a record will be brought out on the label of McPartland's own recording company, Halcyon. It is scheduled to appear at about the time of the group's next performance—at the Women's Jazz Festival in Kansas City in March.

Redd, who has been able to survive by doing occasional studio work and relying on a "day job" as a teacher of mentally retarded children in the Los Angeles public school system, is suddenly back in the limelight where she belongs.

Pleased, but a little suspicious at being "chic" again, Redd does not like to be treated as a novelty act. Without discounting women's need for powerful role

models, she wants no part of an audience that is interested in her merely because she's a woman, not because of her sound.

Asked about sexist discrimination in the jazz world, she answers that it comes, by and large, from record companies and club owners, rather than from other musicians.

"High calibre musicians aren't threatened by me. It's the ones that are insecure in their own abilities that have given me a hard time."

Hearing her now one can understand the challenge she must pose. Her alto style is soaring yet mellow, heavily influenced by Charlie Parker. As a vocalist she is equally effective, able to switch from soul to blues to gospel with ease. If ever there was a musician who deserves a wider audience, it is Vi Redd.

—Ron Sakolsky

Ron Sakolsky reviews jazz regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.



CLASSIFIED

ALBANY NY ITT will sponsor a forum on "Why the Rosenberg Case Should Be Reopened," with Michael Weber, National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case. Film, refreshments. Free. Campus Center 375, SUNYA, at 3 pm. Friends Meeting House, 727 Madison Ave., at 8 pm Wed., Nov. 2.

CHICAGO READERS! Hear WILFRED BURCHETT, known throughout the world for his firsthand reports on progressive struggles during the last 30 years—China, Korea, Algeria, Vietnam, Angola, Portugal, Europe. Friday, Oct. 28, 8 pm DePaul University Law School Auditorium, 25 E. Jackson. \$2. For more information: 312/281-1826 or 348-3370.

HEALTH ACTIVISTS' DIGEST—News and analysis of health issues of critical importance to health activists. \$2.25 for three issues a year. NAM Health Commission, 19920 Lichfield, Detroit, MI 48221.

SCHENECTADY NY ITT will sponsor a forum on "Socialism in Schenectady" on Wed., Nov. 9, 8 pm, at the Emmanuel Baptist Church, 218 Nott Terrace. Speakers: Karl Sainden (Managing Editor, *NEW CITIZEN*) & David Goodall. Free.

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FILM

PBS to air black history film

MEN OF BRONZE

Directed by William Miles

Films by black directors are few. Even fewer are those that illumine America's black past. For these reasons alone, William Miles' *Men of Bronze* deserves the attention it received at its New York Film Festival premiere.

A labor of love, 12 years in the making, the film tells the story of the country's first black combat outfit, the 15th Army Brigade.

Using rare contemporary footage, Miles traces the brigade's history from its makeshift beginnings in a Harlem storefront to its triumphant march up Fifth Avenue in 1919. Arriving in France as the New York 369th (the only American division sent overseas without a federal designation), the brigade saw action under French command, fighting at the side of African and Moroccan troops. Whether in combat or patrolling a retaken French town, the men of the 369th acquitted themselves with bravery and distinction, and its band under ragtimers James Europe and Noble Sissle won fame throughout France.

Much of the film's pathos comes from two black survivors who recall their experiences. The younger of the two, now in his late 70s, joined up as a brash 16-year-old from Brooklyn. His reminiscences capture the brigade's pride at being the first black troops to fight side by side with white Americans.

The memories of the film's other survivor are less rosy. Returning to New York on a casualty ship, he missed the victory parades and celebrations organized by the ladies auxiliaries of New York's black churches. In his reticence, one senses a darker side to the black soldiers' experience that the filmmaker does not probe.

In stressing the 369th's positive achievements, the film slides too easily over racial injustices: assigning combat troops to stevedore detail when the Allies were



Black soldiers of the 369th Infantry Regiment, in the front-line trenches near Champagne in July 1918.

crying for reinforcements; serving under the French rather than American flag; near massacre by a white Alabama outfit during basic training in South Carolina. Works like Jack D. Foner's *Blacks and the Military in American History* (New York: Praeger, 1974) document numerous other examples.

One would never guess from the film that the years following World War I saw some of the country's bloodiest race rioting in cities like Chicago, Omaha, and Washington, and an outburst of lynching that included several black veterans still in uniform. Black soldiers returned to find that while they could die for their country, they could not work for her.

Equally disappointing is Miles' failure to press his survivors on their reaction to the Senegalese and other blacks—the first Africans they had ever laid eyes on—fighting alongside them in the trenches. But then Miles' interests are neither political or so-

cial. All he wants to prove is that, given the chance, blacks make as good soldiers and citizens as whites.

The film's blend of black pride and patriotism—the final credits come up to "God Bless America"—seems oddly anachronistic. But it has its origins in Miles' own life. A native of Harlem, he spent over 20 years in the army, an experience of which he speaks fondly and without recrimination.

Men of Bronze is a fine film as far as it goes. A tribute to the black experience, it unfortunately stops short of exploring its complexities. It will be aired on PBS Nov. 8 at 9 p.m. Check your local PBS station for other scheduling.

—Lynn Garafola

Lynn Garafola reviews films and dance for *In These Times*.

For distribution or rental information contact Killiam Shows Inc., 6 East 39th St., New York, NY, 10016.

BOOKS

The language of black America

Black English is not substandard American, but influenced by speech patterns and world view of Africa.

TALKIN AND TESTIFYIN,
The Language of Black America

By Geneva Smitherman
Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1977,
\$8.95

Geneva Smitherman is a professor of speech communication and a director of the Center for Black Studies at Wayne University. From the battlements of this academic eminence she is firing light and heavy artillery at the proponents of "standard American English" and their brainwashed allies in the black community.

Talkin and Testifyin is not what is usually considered "a work of scholarship" although Smitherman's scholarship is evident. It is a very angry book, especially in its first chapters. (A jacket note explains that Dr. Smitherman was forced to take a speech correction class to qualify for a Michigan teaching certificate despite her degrees from Wayne and the University of Michigan.)

The anger may light fires in her readers, in which case the minor distortions it causes will not matter. Or it may turn readers off, in which case they will be the losers. For building on the work of distinguished predecessors like linguist Lorenzo Turner and famous contemporaries like Imamu Baraka, Smitherman makes a convincing case for two important propositions:

First, that black English is not "substandard" American English but a dialect as legitimate as any other, including what passes for "standard"; influenced by the language patterns and world view of Africa; superbly suited to communicating the reality of black American life.

Second, that children who have been exposed to black English up to the ages of five or six have learned it as their native speech and are "disadvantaged"—or educationally frustrated—by the insistence of school authorities that they learn to read and speak another American dialect.

Granting that competence in "standard" English is necessary for the survival of black youth in the U.S. today, Smitherman has some advice for teachers on how to make the transition from early education in the children's "native" speech to familiarity with the majority dialect. She is very high indeed on the possibility that teachers can "help mold American society into a humane and pluralistic social universe," although there are passages in her analysis of the chauvinism of the dominant culture that seem to conflict with this optimism.

Her final chapter includes an attack on the present reluctant inclusion of black studies (or other ethnic minority culture) programs in schools with predominantly non-white populations as

short-sighted. In her view, black, Latino, Asian and Native American students "need to study white mainstream culture as well as their own to prevent their obtaining a distorted picture of the real world of the U.S.A."

"On the opposite side, white mainstream students need to

know about nonmainstream cultures to prevent a similar distortion. (In fact, they very badly need black and other ethnic studies since whites are a numerical minority in the world.)"

And finally she "strongly recommends that white students learn the fundamentals of black

communication...not only to be able to understand and communicate with blacks, but [because] in the process they will be turned on to other linguistic-cultural minorities within America. Such a perspective will go a long way toward retarding linguistic-cultural chauvinism, which is surely the

greatest impediment to world citizenship."

For those who accept the challenge, *Talkin and Testifyin* is a splendid first reader despite—or because of—the substitution of Langston Hughes' Jesse Simple for the successors to Dick and Jane.

—Janet Stevenson

Un-Simple Langston Hughes

GOOD MORNING, REVOLUTION

By Langston Hughes
Edited by Faith Berry, with a foreword by Saunders Redding
Lawrence Hill, paperback, \$3.95

During his lifetime, Langston Hughes became known as "the black Whitman" ("I, too, sing America") and "the poet laureate of the Negro race." Unknown to most of his readers was another Langston Hughes, an angry man whose polemical poetry and prose addressed the problem of being black and poor in Depression-ridden, Jim Crow America.

Good Morning, Revolution is a collection of Hughes' writings of social protest, most of which did not find their way into anthologies of his work. (According to Saunders Redding, this was largely by Hughes' own choice.)

The selections have been culled from black, Communist and "fellow traveler" periodicals. The poetry included is too stark, too topical and prose to satisfy most contemporary readers of verse. Sometimes, however, the poems bristle with sardonic humor or, as for example, "Advertise-

ments for the Waldorf-Astoria," which contrasts with biting wit the luxury hotel and the jobless and hungry on the street outside.

Occasionally Hughes is guilty of doggerel, witness the last stanza of "Lenin":

*Lenin walks around the world.
The sun sets like a scar.
Between the darkness and the dawn
There rises a red star.*

On the other hand, he knows how to unsettle the reader with an unexpected metaphor. In "A Christian Country"—a poem which brought charges that he was anti-Christian—the poet portrays God as just another poor wino:

*God slumbers in a back alley
With a gin bottle in His hand.
Come one, God, get up and fight
Like a man.*

The prose includes Hughes' reporting from Russia, civil-war-torn Spain and China. Exhilarated by the lack of racism in the Soviet Union, he took an uncritical and unquestioning attitude toward the USSR. In a series of articles written for the *Chicago Defender* in 1946, he insisted that there was no "Jewish problem"

in the USSR and that "the steps toward an earthly paradise reach higher today on the soil of the Soviet Union than anywhere else"—this at the very time Stalin was inaugurating the "black years" of Soviet Jewry and consolidating the Gulag Archipelago.

The writings on Spain, on the other hand, are wonderful, rivaling Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*. Hughes gives the feel of Madrid and Barcelona during the Civil War, e.g., his vivid descriptions of Barcelona filmgoers more terrified by Chicago gangsters on the screen than by the shells falling all around them.

Best of all are Hughes' writings to and about black academics and writers. In "Cowards from the College," published in *The Crisis* in 1934, he rails against the black colleges' obsequious, soul-destroying compliance with Jim Crowism (Tuskegee Institute in the '30s maintained a guest house for whites only), repressive behavior codes and stifling religiosity: "To set foot on dozens of Negro colleges is like going back to mid-Victorian England, or Massachusetts in the days of the

witch-burning Puritans."

In "Democracy and Me," he notes that blacks are the "invisible men" of American film. One sees not a single, non-toadying black character on the screen. "Hollywood, insofar as Negroes are concerned, might just as well be controlled by Hitler."

Nothing infuriated Hughes more than to see blacks patronized by romanticizing. In his 1935 address "To Negro Writers," he complained bitterly about "the contentment tradition of the O-lvely-Negroes school of American fiction, which makes an ignorant black face and a Carolina head filled with superstition more desirable than a crown of gold."

No one will ever accuse Langston Hughes of having contributed to that school of American fiction. At least not after having read this long overdue collection of his angry, passionate polemics against injustice and prejudice and his good-morning to the revolution he expected to change all that.

—David M. Szonyi

David M. Szonyi reviews frequently for *IN THESE TIMES*.



George Coleman

THRILLS, CHILLS AND SPILLS AT THE U.S. GRAND PRIX

By Bruce Pringle

WATKINS GLEN, N.Y.—Mike Keavney stood outside his tent, shivering in the rain that was turning his campsite into an ankle-deep mudhole. But Keavney, a 28-year-old tavern owner from Pennsylvania, was smiling. "Where else can you see anything like this?" he asked.

Less than 100 yards from the spot Keavney had picked as his weekend residence, screaming cars became blurs as they descended a hill on a narrow stretch of race-track. It was the final qualifying session for the next day's Grand Prix of the United States, an annual automobile race that attracts the attention of sports fans around the world.

Millions watch it on television. Perhaps 100,000 defy the frequent harshness of October weather in upstate New York to see it in person.

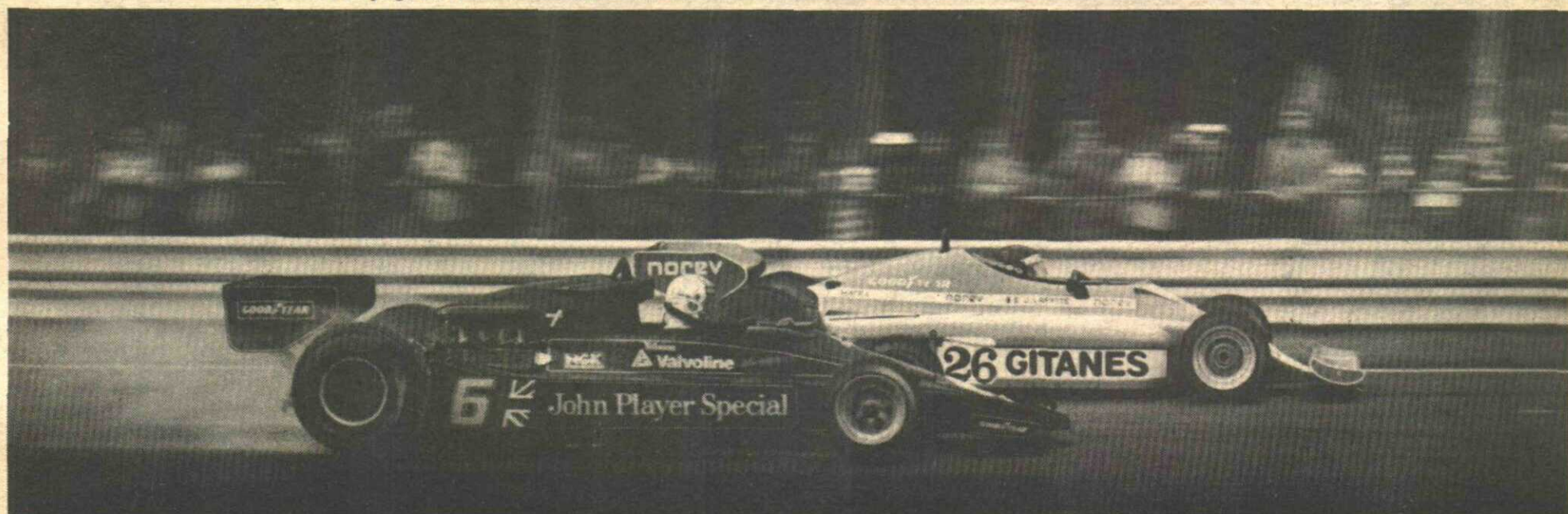
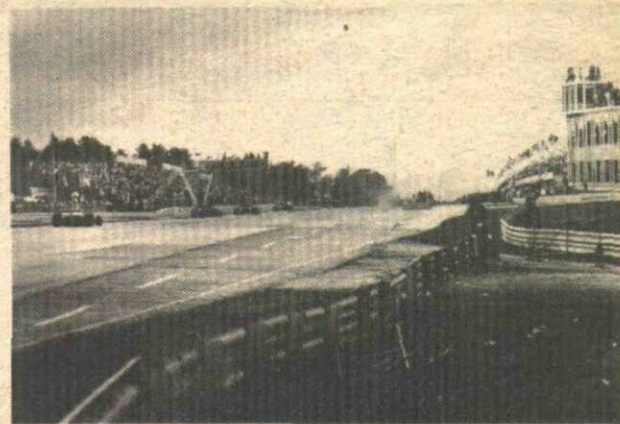
"Just like a spectator in any sport, I guess, I dream of being out there competing," Keavney said. "But I'd be scared to death to try this. Before I came here for the first time, Woodstock was the biggest thing I'd ever attended. But it didn't top this. Anyone with enough talent can play music. But Grand Prix drivers need more than talent. They need heart."

Struggle to survive.

Grand Prix drivers may well be under more pressure than any other athletes. Theirs is not only a struggle to win, but to survive as well. On a tour that takes them to five continents, they compete less than 20 times each year; yet rare is the season in which one of their members does not die in a crash.

Grand Prix race courses, in fact, are designed to tempt death. Unlike the flat oval layouts on which most American car races are held, Grand Prix tracks are twisting collections of hills and valleys that tolerate only the slightest human or mechanical failure. The intricacy of the course, each

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Photographs by Mel Evans Jr.